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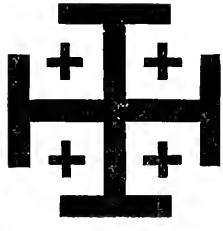

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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Committee desire to appeal very earnestly to subscribers and their friends to assist them in completing the Excavations of Gezer thoroughly. The extension of time now granted by the Sultan would make this possible; but only if the force of workpeople can be increased, for which more money is necessary. *Special donations* are invited. An additional £1,000 is required.

The Tenth Quarterly Report is chiefly devoted to a detailed explanation of the fragments of walls which at first appeared to Mr. Macalister to belong to Crusading times. Further excavation has proved that the fragments form part of an extensive structure which was in all probability of the Maccabean period, if not earlier. Of more general interest, perhaps, are the supplementary remarks upon the food deposits found in the earlier tombs of about 1200 B.C. It has been observed that with the vessels containing food there were exactly identical vessels containing one or more human bones. Most noteworthy is the fact that *infant bones* preponderate. Parallel customs have been found elsewhere, but the explanation of the rite is at present purely conjectural. Another interesting feature was the discovery of a sherd of pottery of Cretan origin, and it is not the least important result of the Fund's excavations up to the present that several extremely important analogies between Cretan and Palestinian culture as exemplified at Gezer have been brought to light. What is to be made of the "spindle-whorls" of the heads of human femora it is difficult to say; they seem to form a class by themselves. Perhaps some anthropologist can furnish a clue?

It is characteristic of the *tell* at Gezer that wherever a pit is sunk something of interest is invariably discovered, and the discovery is in the majority of instances of a quite unexpected character. The richness of its contents makes the *thorough* excavation of the site a matter of supreme importance, and the Committee's ambition to attain this end will scarcely be possible unless additional means are forthcoming. That the work was kept going to the extent which has accomplished so much has been largely due to the generosity of Mr. Walter Morrison, our Treasurer, under whose personal guarantee the Committee were able to obtain a loan of £500, without which the work would have been very seriously checked. This is by no means the first occasion on which the Treasurer has enabled the work of the Fund to be carried on through a difficult interval.

The special donations to the expenses of the excavation of Gezer comprise the following:—James Hilton, Esq., £20; Walter Morrison, Esq., £10; Viscount Sidmouth, Professor George Adam Smith, Charles S. Buckingham, Esq., General A. C. Cooke, and George Mathieson, Esq., James Melrose, Esq., £5 each; small donations, £30 2*s*. 0*d*.; £90 2*s*. 0*d*. in all; bringing the total up to £849 13*s*. 2*d*.

At the St. Louis Exhibition the Palestine Exploration Fund has been awarded the following prizes in the several departments indicated:—

Maps and apparatus for geography	...	Grand Prize.
Books and publications	...	Gold Medal.
Ethnography.	...	Gold Medal.

Among the awards to collaborators, the Gold Medal is awarded to Mr. George Armstrong, our Acting Secretary, for his Raised Maps of Palestine—an award than which none is better deserved.

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer, writing from Jerusalem on December 2nd, mentions that, two days previously, some workmen digging the foundations for a new wall on the grounds of Bishop Blyth's Mission, on the west side of the Damascus Road, and near the "Tombs of the Kings," came upon a vaulted chamber of well-dressed masonry. With the Bishop's permission, Mr. Hanauer descended

by a ladder into the vault, which he found to be about 10 feet long by 7 feet wide, and arched over. On the earth at the bottom lay 10 skeletons, intact except that the skulls lay about in disorder. At the western end there seemed to be a blocked-up doorway. No lamps or other objects had been found. A plain mosaic pavement was found at a level of about a foot above this chamber. Mr. Hanauer hopes to make further examination of the place.

Mr. Hanauer informs us further that the Russians have bought the old hermitages at the Wâdy Fârah, on the southern side of the spring, and have enclosed their property with a wall. In the course of excavating the ruins they discovered the apse of a church or chapel. Moreover, in digging the foundation for a wall to the English-German cemetery, there was found the broken drum of a fluted column, about 30 inches in diameter. Mr. Hanauer goes on to remark, "I know of but one other piece of a vertically-fluted column in or about Jerusalem."

In 1903 the German Oriental Society sent Drs. Thiersch and Hölscher to Palestine to report upon the most suitable sites in the country for excavation, and it has recently published the interesting results of their journey in a copiously-illustrated pamphlet (*Miteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, No. 23, September, 1904). Drs. Thiersch and Hölscher visited every important site east and west of Jordan, and they write in very appreciative terms of the excavations which are being carried out for the Fund at Gezer under the "excellent" direction of Mr. Macalister. They point to them as the first instance of systematic and exhaustive excavations in Palestine, and hold them up as, in many respects, a model of what such work should be.

Last August Dr. Masterman gave an interesting lecture on "Jerusalem from the Sanitary Point of View," which is published, in part, in the little monthly paper, *Home Words for Jerusalem*, printed at the L.J.S. House of Industry. After remarking on the natural advantages of the city, its height, its pure mountain air, the absence of marsh land, and the facilities afforded by its position for efficient drainage, Dr. Masterman comments on the scarcity of good drinking water. The water from the *'Ain esh-Shefa*, the

"Virgin's Fountain," and *Bîr Eyûb*, is unfit for drinking; but the limited supply through the iron pipes and from the best cisterns is good.

The drainage of the city is in a most faulty condition. The drains are constantly leaking and becoming blocked, and they are conducted to no definite terminations. The lecturer suggests schemes for the improvement of the water supply and drainage, but they would involve a considerable outlay.

Malaria is the great scourge of the city. It is not endemically of a severe type, but pernicious cases from other places, especially from the Jordan, are constantly bringing fresh stocks of virulent malaria parasites. The *Anopheles* mosquitoes, the carriers of malarial poison from the sick to the healthy, are only too common. The cistern water from outside and inside the city frequently contains the characteristic *Anopheles* larvæ, and some cisterns swarm with them. The remedies proposed are to keep cistern mouths closed, to substitute pumps for the old-fashioned buckets, and the systematic treatment of malaria all over the city.

No care is taken to check epidemics. Small-pox, diphtheria, typhus, typhoid, and cases of advanced consumption are left to spread infection in overcrowded houses without the slightest enforcement of means to prevent spread of diseases.

There are no statistics of disease nor are death certificates required, except by some of the Consuls. It is believed that cases of premature burial occur, and cases that in England would lead to unpleasant verdicts in a coroner's court are entirely overlooked.

Dr. Masterman makes many important suggestions for improvement, including the appointment of an international medical officer of health, supported by the leading Consulates, and the erection of proper hospitals for infectious diseases.

The report of the Jewish Colonisation Association for 1903 shows that large purchases of land have been made at Tiberias and elsewhere, and that slow but steady progress is being made by the

colonies. The cultivation of almonds and oranges is extending, and the olive trees planted some years ago are now commencing to bear fruit.

The railway from Damascus to Mecca is being made by the Turkish military authorities for military and political purposes: the rolling stock comes from Germany. The construction of the line is due, apparently, to a desire to check the increase of foreign influence in the Hejaz, and to possess a means of rapidly reinforcing the Turkish troops in Arabia. Its protection and, at the same time, that of the fertile districts between the Jordan Valley and the Syrian desert, has been secured by the plantation of strong Circassian colonies at important points along its course. The Circassians, when they settle down, make good frontier colonists; but, in their search for building material, they are merciless destroyers of antiquities, and it is much to be feared that the fine ruins at Jerash, 'Ammân, and other places will suffer irreparable damage.

It was originally intended to purchase the Damascus–Mezeirîb Railway and continue it to Mecca, but, not being able to come to an agreement with the French Company, the Turkish Government decided to make their own line from *ed-Dera'a* (Edrei) to Damascus. This section of the railway was completed in five months, and the two rival lines now run nearly parallel to, and often within sight of, each other for some 60 miles through a sparsely-populated country. The present intention is to connect the railway from *Haifa* to *Beisân* with the Mecca line at *ed-Dera'a*.

Leaving the fertile plain of Damascus, the Turkish line crosses the *Nahr el-'Awaj*, the *Wâdy el-'Ajam*, and the shoulder of *Jebel el-'Aswad*; and then, skirting the curious volcanic district of *el-Lejâ*, and passing through *Ezraâ*, runs across the plain to *ed-Dera'a*, where there is to be a large station and an hotel. The line continues southward by *Nasîb*, *es-Samrâ*, where the ruins have greatly suffered, and *Ḳal'at ez-Zerḳâ*, to *'Ammân*; and thence by *el-Ḳaṭrâni* and *M'Shetta* to *Ma'ân*, the present terminus at the edge of the Arabian desert.

The new railway, on which special accommodation can sometimes be obtained on application to the railway officials at Damascus,

offers peculiar facilities for visiting the remarkable ruins in the *Hauràn*, *ed-Dera'a*, with its subterranean dwelling-places, *Jerash*, *'Ammân*, and Petra, which is an easy day's ride from the terminus at *Ma'ân*.

Through the sudden death of Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss, Professor of Old Testament Literature at the Theological Seminary of Chicago, on September 22nd, 1904, Semitic research has lost one of its most useful workers. From the *British Weekly* we quote the following:—

"Dr. Curtiss was in his youth a favourite pupil of Franz Delitzsch at Leipzig. He came to the front in the Robertson Smith controversy, publishing a book on *The Levitical Priesthood*, in which he traversed the contentions of the higher critics. Delitzsch contributed a preface, and the book attracted attention. Principal Rainy spoke of its 'singularly upright and candid tone,' and Robertson Smith reviewed it in the *Academy*. Later on Curtiss, like Delitzsch, went over to the other side. But he retained the warm evangelical piety for which he was known among the Leipzig students, and was always concerned to maintain a large Mosaic element in the legislation of the Pentateuch. Within the last two or three years he struck a new vein by studying the religious practices of the East as they exist; and he published a book to show that these confirmed the traditional view of sacrifice. . . . The last thing he did was to send two articles for publication in the *Expositor*, giving the gist of his argument. His comparatively early death is a great loss alike to scholarship and to religion."

The "new vein" referred to is, of course, his *Primitive Semitic Religion to-day*, 1902, which contains one of the most valuable and interesting accounts of modern cult and custom in Palestine that has ever been written. A great deal of his evidence was obtained at first hand, and this, combined with his extensive knowledge of ancient Semitic literature, gives his work a lasting value. The subject was one that occupied him to the last, and it is only a few months ago that the lamented scholar entered into correspondence with the present writer in connection with a remarkable Semitic custom which he had come across in the course of his researches. It is worth adding that, although the conclusions of Professor Curtiss have not met with unanimous approval, he recently made fresh discoveries which seemed to him to confirm his original views.

Here it may not be amiss to notice an interesting article on the Kissil Bashi of the Upper Tigris which appeared in the *Standard*, September 19th. Under the rather popular title "The Last of the Baal Worshippers," a correspondent draws attention to a number of remarkable customs, most of which find parallels in the Semitic world no doubt, but are rarely met with in any one single community, as in this instance. The customs are on a line with the traces of primitive Semitic cult discussed by Professor Curtiss and others, and only want of space forbids a detailed notice of the more interesting features. It is much to be hoped that travellers in Palestine and Syria would pay careful heed to the superstitions and beliefs which they encounter in the more out-of-the-way districts. Puerile and senseless though these may often seem, they become of great interest when studied in the light of comparative custom, and it is anthropology, or the comparative study of man, particularly in Semitic regions, that helps us to understand and appreciate Semitic literature. Who, for example, when he reads that among the Kissil Bashi the new-born infant is solemnly salted over before the "Father-priest" in front of the sacred tree, will not at once recall Ezekiel xvi, 4, and speculate upon the connection? And this is only one, and not the most important, of parallels that could be mentioned.

In the October number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Professor Breasted gives an interesting account of the great geographical list of Shishak (Sheshonk I) on the "Bubastide Gate" of the great Karnak Temple, "of the 10 rows of names comprising the list, the fourth and tenth rows have entirely perished, involving the loss of 31 names; while 12 more in different places have also disappeared." The writer proceeds to state that the list is rapidly perishing, and many names once legible are no longer so, yet in spite of this, this record has never been fully copied or published. The article is devoted to a notice of the names which can be safely identified, but its most interesting feature is the discovery of a place-name "the field of Abram." Nos. 71, 72, the cartouches in question, had been read by Maspero as a plural of *'ábêl*, "meadow," but if Professor Breasted's identification is correct, this will be the earliest mention of the great traditional ancestor of the Hebrews.

It has been pointed out by some of our correspondents that the inscription upon the lamp figured in the last quarterly report from

Gezer (October, p. 348, Plate III, No. 4) is not Hebrew but Latin! It is really upside down, and although it is difficult to read all the characters with certainty, it is probable that they contain merely the maker's name. Professor Flinders Petrie points out that the style is very much like the Roman type of the first century A.D., and Professor Clermont-Ganneau conjectures that the inscription may perhaps be read as UAL(erius) CRE(sceno).

Professor Rudolf E. Brünnow has written from Vevey assuring us that he has no intention of publishing an English translation of his work, *Provincia Arabia*, in its complete form. The original German edition (Trübner, Strasburg) has expanded from the one volume first contemplated to three. If any translation is ever undertaken it would be in some abbreviated form.

As we go to press the Secretary has received from Dr. Gurney Masterman his report on the changes of level in the Dead Sea during the latter half of the year. A continual fall has been observed; the level taken on October 26th was 10 inches lower than in August, and 23½ inches lower than in April, 1904—the lowest of 1904 being 15½ inches lower than the lowest of 1903. The report will be given in the next issue.

Among the various contributions in the present number many of our subscribers will no doubt be interested to notice one of the papers which the indefatigable Dr. Conrad Schick left behind him.

About the end of September last an old subscriber to the Fund, Dr. Hingston Fox, of Gordon Square, made a very generous contribution to our Library in the form of books bearing on various subjects connected with Palestine. A list of them is subjoined (p. 11 *sq.*, below).

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

A number of lectures are to be delivered in Scotland and the provinces on the Fund's excavations at Gezer, and it is hoped that where arrangements have not yet been made, subscribers and those interested in the work will communicate through the Local Secretary.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900, price by post, 7*d*. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s*.

The income of the Society from September 20th to December 16th, 1904, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies and a legacy of £100, £805 5*s*. 9*d*.; from sales of publications, &c., £186 14*s*. 4*d*.; and from lectures, £4 3*s*. 4*d*.; making in all, £996 3*s*. 5*d*. An additional loan of £200 has brought the available total to £1,196 3*s*. 5*d*. The expenditure during the same period was £802 17*s*. 5*d*. On December 16th the balance in the bank was £494 2*s*. 6*d*.

Subscribers will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1904 will be published in April in a separate form.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act:—Professor Alexander Macalister, Cambridge, in place of Mrs. Burkitt, resigned; the Rev. John Martin, Dundee, in place of the Rev. John Reid, gone to Inverness; the Rev. J. du Plessis, Sea Point, Cape Colony.

The Acting Secretary has now completed a Small Photo-relief Map of Palestine, on a scale of 10 miles to the inch. It has been made from the Large Raised Map published in 1893, and contains all the principal biblical sites and their altitudes. All the chief topographical features are faithfully reproduced, and students of the Bible will find it an indispensable guide. Fuller particulars may be had on application to the office, where the map may be seen.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and other sources, by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch and measures 3′ 6″ × 2′ 6″. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. Further particulars may be had on application.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1903, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these four photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks from Dr. Hingston Fox the following :—

"Journal in the East" (1839), by C. Jos. Wolff. "The Dead Sea" (1857), by Rev. A. A. Isaacs. "U.S. Expedition to Jordan and Dead Sea" (1850), by W. F. Lynch. "Phœnicia" (1855), by John Kenrick. "A Month in Palestine" (1889), by Countess Cowper. "The Land of Gilead" (1880), by Laurence Oliphant. "A Voyage into the Levant" (1718), by Journeport. "Sinai and Arabia" (1878), by Charles Beke. "Pastor's Memorial of Holy Land" (1847), by G. Fisk. "Israel in Wilderness" (1865), by Rev. C. Forster. "Travels in Mediterranean, Jerusalem, &c." (1822), by Robert Richardson, M.D. "Van de Godsdienst der Mahomt" (1718), by Adrian Reland. "Historical Geog. of New Testament" (1708), by Ed. Wells. "Voyage en Orient" (1850), by Alph. de

Lamartine. "Travels to Jerusalem and the Holy Land through Egypt" (two vols., 1835), by Viscount de Chateaubriand (translated from the French by Fred. Shoberl). "The Dead Sea, a New Route to India" (1855), by Captain W. Allen. "Letters from Palestine" (1839), by Rev. J. D. Paxton. "Travels in the East" (1792), by Niebuhr. "Stirring Times" (1878), by James Finn. "The Temple and the Tomb" (1880), by C. Warren. "Memoir to accompany Map of Holy Land" (1858), by C. W. M. Van de Velde. "Syria and the Holy Land," by W. K. Kelly. "Ride Thro' Syria" (1887), by Ed. Abram. "Journey Round Dead Sea and Bible Lands" (1854), by F. De Sauley. "The Tent of the Khan" (1857), by R. W. Stewart. "Visit to Egypt, Sinai, Jerusalem" (1833), by Sir F. Henniker. "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697" (1810), by H. Maundrell. "Syria and Egypt under Turkey, 1799–1849" (1876), by John Barker (Consul). "Palestine on Monuments" (1714), by Adrian Reland. "Travels in the East" (1754), by A. Drummond. "Travels in Barbary and the Levant" (1738), by Thomas Shaw. "Travels among Arab Tribes," by J. S. Buckingham.

The Committee also have to acknowledge with thanks the following:—

"Al-Mashrîk: Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle."

"Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts, and Letters" (Library of Ancient Inscriptions; T. and T. Clark), by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A.

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale." Tome VI, Livraisons 13–19. From the Author, Professor Clermont-Ganneau, M.I. Among the varied contents are: "Sur un passage des épitaphes d'Echmounazar et de Tabnit" (§ 24); "Textes Araméens d'Égypte" (§ 25 *bis*); "Tanit et Didon" (§ 27); "l'Empereur Adrien et Jérusalem" (§ 28); "l'Empereur usurpateur Achilleus" (§ 31); *Fiches et Notules* (§§ 23, 33), &c., &c.

"Echos d'Orient," vols. i–vi. From the Editor.

"The Tabernacle: its History and Structure." By the Rev. W. Shaw Caldecott. From the Religious Tract Society.

"*See* "Foreign Publications," pp. 82 *sqq.*, below.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

*Signature*_____

Witnesses _____

_____

_____

Note.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America; Two suffice in Great Britain.*

THE LATE DR. THOMAS CHAPLIN.

THE Palestine Exploration Fund has lost a staunch supporter and tried friend in the late Dr. Chaplin, who entered into his rest on September 20th, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. From the foundation of the Fund Dr. Chaplin took a keen interest in its work, and the success that attended its operations in the field during the first twenty-one years of its existence was largely due to his unremitting kindness and thoughtful care. He tended the explorers when sick, gave them the best advice in sanitary matters, and unreservedly placed at their disposal his great knowledge of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, and of the people amongst whom he lived and laboured for twenty-five years. Some of those who worked for the Fund found in him a valued friend; none of them can forget his kindness of heart, or that combination of firmness and gentleness in his character which enabled him to win the respect and esteem of Christian, Moslem, and Jew.

On his return to England in 1866 Dr. Chaplin joined the General and Executive Committees of the Fund, and became a regular attendant at the meetings of the latter. His wide experience frequently enabled him to give valuable counsel and advice, and his strong common sense and singleness of purpose were highly appreciated by his colleagues. For more than twelve years he edited the *Quarterly Statement*, to which he contributed several important papers, such as his translations of Hebrew treatises dealing with the Temple and its services—the tracts Yoma, Tamid, and Middoth of the Mishna, with the notes of Rabbi Obadiah of Bartenora, and the Beth Habbechereh of Maimonides; and his papers on the climate of Jerusalem, on his exploration of the 'Ain esh-Shefa, on his discovery of Cufic inscriptions in the roof of the Dome of the Rock, on an ancient Hebrew weight from Samaria, and on other subjects.

The following appreciative record of Dr. Chaplin's work at Jerusalem, where his memory is perpetuated by the erection of the "Chaplin" Ward in the hospital of the Society which he served so well, has been kindly communicated by his able successor, Dr. Percy D'Erf Wheeler, who is ever ready to further the work of the Fund in Palestine:—

(*To face p.* 14.)

THE LATE DR. THOMAS CHAPLIN.

"Dr. Thomas Chaplin took up charge of the London Jews' Society's Medical Mission in Jerusalem on December 21st, 1860. He received his medical training at Guy's Hospital, London, having taken his degree at St. Andrew's University. He devoted his life to the work amongst the Jews, and thoroughly identified himself with the past interests of the Mission. By his earnestness and thoroughness as a physician and surgeon, he gained the confidence and respect of his patients. He consolidated the work commenced under Dr. Macgowan, his predecessor, and made it a greater power and success than it ever had been before. He was able, after some years' residence, to write and converse in Arabic, Spanish, and German. He was well acquainted with Hebrew, and made a special study of Hebrew literature that was directly connected with the Temple and its services. He translated several tracts of the Mishna, &c., into English.

"His clinical observations on malarial fever were of great value. His scientific contributions to the medical journals were many, the chief and best known being 'The Fevers of Jerusalem.' He was also successful as a surgeon, sometimes under very peculiar difficulties. The Jews and Moslems had absolute confidence in him, and his name is still a household word. It was through his influence and interest that the present Leper Hospital was founded by Lady Raffinburg. He made a careful and systematic examination of each leper in Jerusalem and Ramleh, and was at that time one of the authorities on leprosy. He was also the means of founding the British Ophthalmic Hospital, and was made an Honorary Associate of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem for the services he rendered. He was a member of the Scotch Meteorological Society, and wrote a special monograph on the climate of Jerusalem. He took an interest in everything that was connected with Palestine, and all his work was thoroughly done.

"It is hardly necessary to speak of his kind-heartedness and nobility of character. His name was respected by all who knew him, and especially by the Jews of Palestine, who felt that in him they had a true friend, as well as an experienced and able doctor. After twenty-five years' service in Jerusalem he retired from the work. In 1886 he was appointed Inspector of the Society's Missions, and in 1891 Medical Missionary to the Dispensary at Goulston Street, Whitechapel. His name will never be forgotten in Jerusalem, and although he is dead 'he still speaks.'"

Dr. Chaplin served on the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and his last work for them was the revision of the Yiddish translation of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. He also served on the Council of the Victoria Institute, and on the Correspondence Committee of the Church Missionary Society. His life was one of strenuous work, and it was only towards its close that the repeated attacks of malarial fever from which he suffered disabled him and ultimately caused his death.

C. W. W.

TENTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

11 *August*—12 *November*, 1904.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

§ I.—Preliminary.

The time spent in excavation during the period covered by the present report was about two months. A few days after the middle of August I had the pleasure of welcoming Mr. C. T. Currelly, of the Egypt Exploration Fund and the British School at Athens, to the camp. He came fresh from the important excavation now in progress under the latter institution at Palaiokastro in Crete; and not only did this experience make him a valuable associate in my endeavour to explain some of the objects unearthed at Gezer during his stay, but he was able to inform me of analogous results at Crete to those arrived at in my own work. These, when they have been examined more closely, may be found to involve historical results of great importance. For the present it would be premature to enter into details regarding an investigation, which it will be impossible to carry out thoroughly without the co-operation of the Cretan excavators.

Towards the end of August, as soon as the state of the works permitted me temporarily to close them, I suspended the digging, and with Mr. Currelly went on a short tour through the country. Starting from Sidon, where, through the courtesy of His Excellency

Makridi Bey, we were permitted to visit the important excavations now under progress under his supervision on behalf of the Imperial Ottoman Government, we proceeded by sea to Tyre and Ḥaifa, and thence overland to Jerusalem by way of Jenîn, Samaria, Nâblus, and Râmallah.

In a hurried ride over a track so well beaten it is of course impossible to make many new observations. The few notes we took, though not directly bearing on the Gezer excavation, may be recorded here, as they are hardly important enough to submit as an independent communication :—

1. During a walk round the peninsula of Tyre we agreed in coming to the conclusion that nothing pre-Roman was to be expected from excavation there; the site of ancient Tyre, wherever it may exactly be, having to be sought on the mainland. In this conclusion I find we are in disagreement with the opinion expressed by Drs. Thiersch and Hölscher in their recently-published "Reise durch Palästina und Phönizien" (*Mittheilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, September, 1904), a copy of which I received after my return. The German explorers are able to point to sherds of classical vases of black ware, which they picked up, to corroborate their judgment; we happened to find nothing but Roman remains, and it appeared to us that below the thick stratum of Roman brick with which the southern half of the island is covered, and of which a good section can be seen along the sea-shore, there was little or no earlier débris.

2. In occasional wayside conversations with natives passed on the route, when approaching the site of Samaria, I noticed that the local pronunciation of the name of the modern village on that site is not accurately represented in the ordinary printed form. The older men uniformly called the place *Sebusteh*, with a strong accent on the second syllable, thereby exactly reproducing the name of the Herodian town, Some of the younger people have picked up, no doubt from tourists and their servants, the pronunciation *Sebustîyeh*, with the third syllable accented, while others compromise by retaining the accent on the second syllable and shortening the vowel of the third; but the elders were practically unanimous in preferring the shorter form. I suspect that a systematic enquiry among the older inhabitants of Palestine would result in eliminating a good many other cases of the *-yeh* termination so frequently appended in print to Palestinian place-names. It is certainly wrong in *Tell es-Ṣâfiyeh*, a not uncommon perversion of the name of the mound recently excavated by the Fund.

3. At three spots in the way we observed that the ground was strewn with palæolithic flint flakes, indicating pre-historic occupations. These were—(i) round the foot of Tell Kâmôn, between Ḥaifa and Tell Mutasellim, on the south-east side of the mound; (ii) along the plain called Merj el-Gharaḳ, especially south of the village of Sanûr; and (iii) in a

bend of the road a couple of kilomètres north of Bireh. At none of these places were fine flints noticed, but the artificial nature of the flakes was unmistakable.

The work at Gezer was recommenced towards the end of September, and has been continued since without break. The results have been of considerable interest, but this report upon them will, for reasons that will appear, be probably shorter than any other of the series.

The excavation was resumed in the trench already partially cut on the Western Hill, and for about a month the whole force of the staff was concentrated there, with the exception of one gang of labourers who were employed in tracing the line of the city wall.

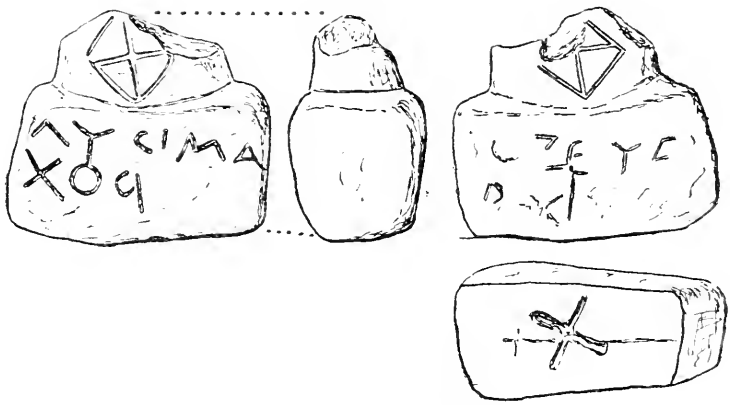


Fig. 1.—Inscribed Fragment.

The result of this month's digging may be dismissed in a few words. The observation already made that there are here eight strata of building was confirmed. No objects of special interest were unearthed, except duplicates of specimens already described; it is therefore unnecessary to say anything about these at present.

Perhaps the most interesting object found on the Western Hill during the quarter was picked up by the foreman on the surface of the ground. It is a small clinch fragment, represented in Fig. 1. The rectangular base measures $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch thick, and 1 inch high. The stump attached is now $\frac{1}{2}$ inch high. On each face of the latter is a cross in a lozenge-shaped panel, while each of the broad faces of the base bears an inscription in Greek letters. That on one face is quite legible; it is the name **ΑΥCIMAXOC**,

Lysimachus, followed by a vertical stroke, apparently a stop: a similar stroke appears on the other face. The inscription on the other face is worn and chipped, in consequence of which it is not fully legible; the only letters that are certain are ZEYC, which would be complete in itself, were it not for the traces of other letters; *one* preceding the Z, and (probably) *three* in the second line, preceding the vertical stroke. The traces are too meagre to enable the letters to be recognised. On the base of the stone a deep cross has been cut over a shallow scratched cross which existed previously. This appears to be a Christian relic, which has probably wandered

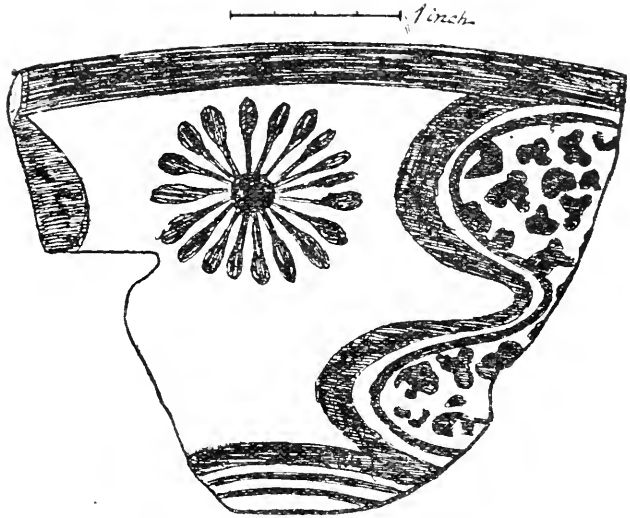


FIG. 2.—Sherd of Cretan Pottery.

from the early Christian settlements on the site of the modern village. It is quite out of place in the tell débris.

It is possible that valuable results may be expected when the work on the Western Hill is resumed at the point where it has for the moment been suspended. A section of a large public building or palace, dating about 2500 B.C., has been laid bare in the trench, which will have to be widened eastward and westward before the structure is completely investigated. The foundations of the part exposed show that its leading feature is a rectangular hall, about 25 feet wide, and certainly more than 40 feet long, built of stone walls, 4 feet thick, and having a row of columns down the centre.

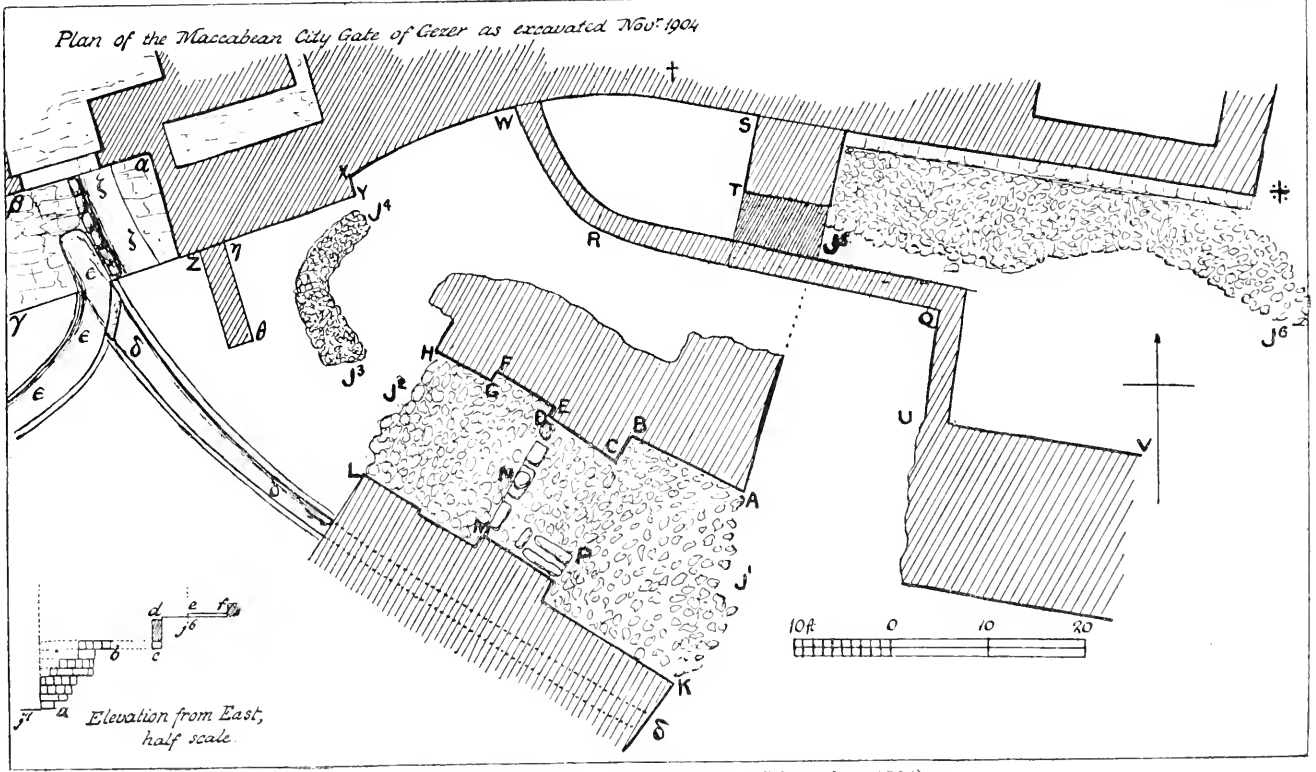
Round it are smaller chambers belonging to the same structure. That it is a palace may perhaps be suggested by the discovery in the neighbourhood of a sherd of pottery of Cretan origin (Fig. 2), which Dr. Mackenzie, of the Cretan Exploration Fund (who has also recently visited the works), told me was comparable with the best specimens of the best period of the pottery from Knossos.

§ II.—Plan of City Gate and Walls.

In the last *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 323, I announced the discovery of a fragment of wall that I thought might be identified with the foundation of the Crusaders' Castle of Mont Gisart. This fragment consisted of three courses of well-squared stones built over the foundation of the outer wall (in tracing which they were exposed), extending, as was ascertained by a tunnel driven along them, for a length of 36 feet, and returning at each end. Two towers, of shallow projection, occurred in the course of this wall. The building had thus every appearance of being the south side of a small castle or keep. The stone-dressing, though not exactly like that usually associated with the work of Crusader masons, might conceivably have been a provincial imitation thereof; and in view of its superiority to the masonry found elsewhere on the mound, I felt that its assignment to the Crusaders was justifiable. Three or four weeks after returning to work, being desirous of examining this supposed castle (which did not promise to be of great size, or to call for many labourers), I detailed about half of the staff to clear the ground from above it.

A few days' digging showed that the building was not a castle, and could not be assigned to the Crusaders; and a few more assured me that I had to do with a magnificent and extensive structure, no doubt the main entrance to the city in the Maccabean period, and possibly, in addition, something yet more interesting. The whole force of labourers was, therefore, transferred to the site, and it is still under examination.

It is unfortunate that this report has to be sent from Gezer at the present time. Each day as the work proceeds new details are exposed, so that neither plans nor descriptions, nor yet theories, presented at the moment of writing can claim any finality. I had hoped to present with this report an elaborate restoration of the gate, and had prepared a drawing for that purpose, in which I



PLAN OF CITY GATE AS EXCAVATED (November, 1904).

thought I had utilised all the material which could possibly be available: but within an hour of my finishing the drawing a fresh discovery was made, which reduced it to waste paper. I therefore illustrate this preliminary description merely with a temporary plan of the remains thus far uncovered, and for the exact position of the gateway I refer the reader to the plan of the excavations, published with the eighth report in July, 1904.[1] Under the Y of the word "VALLEY" will be seen an oval, marked "*Traces of Building.*" Just west of this is an inset in the line of the edge of the summit-plateau of the hill. The entrance-gate now described is situated at this inset.

In the accompanying plan, where it is marked A H, will be seen the fragment of masonry that first attracted my attention to this place. It is a thick and much ruined wall of rough rubble, faced with the well-squared stones already mentioned. It is 36 feet long, and has two shallow towers, of projection from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches. As will be seen by reference to the plan, the wall and towers are not set out truly square. The courses of facing-stones are each about 1 foot 6 inches high. This wall, for reasons that will presently be understood, we shall for convenience term the "middle wall."

In front of the wall is a rough pavement of cobble stones (J^1 J^2)[2], nearly all of which show marks of polishing by footwear. This pavement rises gently from east to west. It appears to commence abruptly near the eastern end of the Middle Wall, and it is interrupted at the western end. There seems to have been some kind of arcading crossing the pavement between the points D M; at least there is here a threshold of cut stones resembling those of the wall, and having in the middle what looks like the much-weathered base of a column (N). It is to be noticed, however, that no evidence of a respond is to be seen on the face of the tower, such as we should expect if there were actually an arcade at this point.

On the south side of the pavement are some cut stones, which at first seemed to be fallen débris. But on more careful examination

[1] It is not repeated here, as the area dug over is hardly extensive enough to make it worth while; it will be given, brought up to date, with the next report.

[2] The index letters used throughout this description refer to the accompanying plan.

they proved to be the foundation of a wall in all respects similar to that on the opposite side, and containing corresponding projections (K L). The outer (southern) face of the latter wall has not yet been exposed, so that I am as yet unable to say anything about the architectural features that it presented to the valley. We shall call this fragment the Front Wall in the present description.

Thus we have a passage 36 feet long, and from 14 to 15 feet wide, flanked by stone walls of well-dressed masonry, which have two towers projecting inwards. There can scarcely be any doubt that over the walls was a vault roofing the passage. The recesses between the towers (D E F G, and the corresponding recess opposite) were possibly intended for receiving a portcullis that closed the gateway; the space, however (8 feet 4 inches), appears rather too wide. Two stones, 3 feet 4 inches long, side by side, with a groove 3 inches wide between them, are let into the pavement at P. That these have something to do with a door-fastening is probable, though I confess that I do not yet see clearly how it was worked.

The pavement is, as I have just said, interrupted at the west end of the two flanking walls; but, fortunately, a fragment remains a few feet further on which enables us to describe clearly its subsequent course. After emerging from the tower it doubles on itself, and at the same time rises at a steeper gradient. The angle is preserved, and will be seen indicated in the plan (J^3 J^4); after that there is a long gap, in which, however, we are not left wholly without indication of its direction. When the pit was first dug a white line, evidently following the pavement, was observed on the face of the wall in the back ground (here called the Back Wall); this was afterwards washed out by a shower of rain, but its course was well determined before this took place. No doubt it was the trampled clay brought in by the feet of passers by. The gradient is about 1 in 6·4. Just under the present surface of the ground the pavement re-appears for the last time (J^5 J^6), and runs for a length, 58 feet, after which it is no more found. The difference in level between the uppermost and lowermost section of the pavement is 18 feet 3 inches.

The question now arises whether this causeway was covered during the upper part of its course, between the Middle and Back Walls, by a vault parallel to that which most probably roofed the lower part. Of this there is not wanting evidence. I have added to the lower left-hand corner of the plan a sketch-elevation of the return side as it now appears;

this, though of necessarily small scale, enables the details at that part to be understood. Eight courses there remain. It will be seen that the foundations (*a*, *b*) follow the slope of the ground, the tower being built on the edge of the hill. The upper part of the pavement (*f*) is retained by a wall of rough masonry of small stones (*c d*, Q R on plan), but having a base course of stones (*c*) similar to those in the facing of the Middle Wall. The line of foundation of the return side of the tower trends upward to this course, and there is no doubt that they originally joined.

Thus the return side of the tower was prolonged to meet the upper part of the pavement. On the opposite side of the pavement is the foundation of a thick wall (*e f* on elevation, S T on plan), cutting across it at right angles, but now almost completely destroyed; enough, however, remains to show that it is in the same line with, and was of about the same thickness as the return side of the tower. It can hardly be questioned that the pavement here ran under a rather narrow gateway. Whether before reaching the gateway it passed under a vault cannot be definitely stated; the walls that would have borne such a vault are too ruined to allow a positive conclusion to be arrived at, though it is not impossible that a continuation of the excavation may give a clue to the solution of the question.

The retaining wall (Q R) (which no doubt originally was carried up as a parapet) is turned at right angles at Q, and joins the Outer Wall of the city at U. This wall, a portion of which is shown on the plan (U V), seems to have been ruined or removed when the gateway was built, but some further excavations are still necessary in order to determine the exact relation between the gateway and the walls of the city. The walls (R Q U) no doubt helped to prevent intruders from entering the city otherwise than through the gate. Q R is prolonged in a curved line to meet the Back Wall at W. When first uncovered the space enclosed between this curve and the back wall was found to be full of small round stones closely packed together. These possibly were a foundation for the pavement. This curved wall was removed in order to open the older débris lying below before the nature of the structure of which it formed a part had been fully realised.

What is this Back Wall, to which allusion has just been made? It has every appearance of being a massive city wall, and had I been sending this report a week ago I should have unquestionably described it as such. I took it to be a section of the very ancient inner wall of the city, restored and adapted for defensive purposes by the Maccabean builders of the gateway.

This view, however, opened up so many perplexities and was involved in so many difficulties, on the details of which I need not enlarge, that I was forced, after consideration, to seek some other theory. Indeed, it is only necessary to look at the plan, and to see

how the wall curves at the point where the pavement meets it, to infer that this wall and the pavement are part of the same scheme, and date from the same time. This inference adds some probability to the suggestion that the upper part of the pavement was vaulted over as well as the lower.

So far as the wall in question has been exposed, it commences about 6 feet from the present termination of the pavement at the upper end. At the end (#) it returns northward, but only a few feet of this return (eastern) side have as yet been exposed; enough, however, has been opened to show that there is here a chamber, not unlike the chamber in the first tower found in the inner wall, north of the great High Place. There is nothing in the appearance of the building at this point to prevent our regarding this as the corner of just such a tower.

From the corner, however, the wall runs in a straight course almost due westwards for 61 feet 5 inches (to †), after which it takes the outward curve just referred to, accommodating it to the line of the paved causeway. It then breaks out, at the point X, into a genuine tower (X Y γ), of small projection (1 foot 10 inches) at the east side, but probably greater at the west, since it is not set truly at right angles with the wall. The western end of this tower has not yet been found.

Of this tower there are two foundation courses, which, from their roughness, must have been intended to be underground. Over them are built two smaller towers (X Y Z a, and another to the left, beyond the limits of the plan), with a passage between them, paved and sloping like the paved causeway already described, but much superior and carefully smoothed with beaten clay and plaster. The section of this passage that lies within the limits of the plan is marked Z a β γ. This passage leads to a beautifully built gate 8 feet wide (a β), evidently the entrance to the city or else to some important building.

That the two gates—this and the entrance approached by the causeway—are contemporary, there can be no doubt whatever; their being associated with identical types of pottery makes this unquestionable. What, then, is their relation one to the other?

The first theory that naturally occurs is, that we have here two city gates, and that the paved causeway must have bifurcated at some point in order to lead to both of them. With this theory in mind, I have carefully examined the remains, and have no hesitation in pronouncing it impossible. There is no point where a branch passage can be led off

from the main causeway to the causeway approaching the second gate; the levels are quite against it, to say nothing of the very different styles of the pavements, and the fact that if there be any sign of curvature in the passage to the second gate at all, it leads away from the causeway, westward instead of eastward. Moreover, there is a ruined wall ($\eta\,\theta$), which seems to have been built with the express purpose of separating the two causeways. The two gates must therefore be completely independent.

If the second gate be a city gate, it is not obvious why the builders weakened their city by making it at all, for the great gate with the covered passage would surely answer all possible requirements. So far as the excavation has advanced, I can only record my present belief, that this is not a city gate, and the wall in which it is set is not a city wall.

The gate, however, leads outside the city, and if not a city gate, can only be a private doorway for the use of some person who occupied the building containing it, and who had the right of exit and entrance at all times. This could only be the governor or chief military authority in charge of the city. I can only say that at present the probability seems all in favour of the structure being the residence of the governor of the city. One is strongly tempted to identify it with the dwelling-place that Simon Maccabeus built for himself in the city, and afterwards handed over to his son John (1 Macc. xiii, 48, 53). This is not impossible; it is even likely; but in the present stage of the work it would be premature to press the identification.

The walls of the towers containing the second gate are drafted, with central bosses. Some of them display a mason's mark similar to that on a stone found in the great well-shaft on the Eastern Hill, and thus the date of the latter engineering work is indicated as contemporary with the gates.

Attention must be directed to the remarkable system of sewers that radiate from beneath the threshold of the second gate. They are three in number. One ($\delta\,\delta$) runs eastward, under the southern tower of the covered causeway, and ends abruptly just below the tower. At the upper end it is stopped by a slab laid diagonally across it. At the lower end it is 1 feet 10 inches wide and 2 feet 7 inches deep; at the point where it is stopped it is 2 feet 2 inches wide, and 1 foot 9 inches deep. The drain is constructed of stones, of the same general character as those composing the tower, set on edge; the floor is also paved with stones. The second sewer ($\epsilon\,\epsilon$) from which that just described branches, is wider and deeper, but of inferior construction. It is 4 feet 6 inches deep, and 4 feet across at its upper end, and is built of small stones lined with cement. It, too, is stopped at its upper end. The

pavement seems to have been pulled up in order to fill the drain with earth, and afterwards laid again, for the drain is full of earth, but there are neither cover-stones nor vaulting spanning the drain and carrying the superposed pavement. Thirdly, there is a small and narrow drain (ζ ζ) running out from a hole 1 foot square, cut in the threshold stone of the door; this drain is sunk in the pavement in front of the gate, and partitioned off by a dwarf wall.

Of these drains the first described seems to be the oldest. Its line can easily be traced in the floor of the sewer from which it branches. We may, I think, explain the successive stoppings and openings of these sewers very simply if we admit the assumption that we have to do with a castle. The first drain ran by the public highway, for some distance being covered by the tower. It was found to be large enough to admit of an adventurous person creeping through it unobserved to the castle, and was therefore closed and deflected along the private way, where it was perhaps felt that it could be better guarded. Experience, perhaps, proved that even this was unsafe, and the third drain was opened, passing through a hole too small to permit of a person squeezing through.

This is the point to which the excavation has now brought us, and I must defer till the next report the further developments that may be expected shortly. This discovery, I may say in passing, illustrates the two characteristics which this wonderful mound of Gezer has proved to possess to a marked degree. Wherever a pit is dug something of interest is almost sure to make its appearance, and the discovery is almost sure to be of an unexpected character. I commenced this pit looking for a comparatively uninteresting Crusaders' castle, and have found instead a magnificent fortified gateway of the second century B.C.

§ III.—Chronological Problems of Gezer.

I have said that for a time I kept a gang of labourers at work on the outer city wall. Practically, the complete course of this wall has now been determined with the exception of a short stretch at the western end of the mound. I estimate its total length at about 4,500 feet, which is rather more than one-third the length of the modern wall of Jerusalem.

Further consideration has been given to the problem, already more than once alluded to in this series of reports, of the relative

chronology of the three city walls. A careful study of the masonry has been made of all the exposed parts, and the associated antiquities have been examined in order to find whether they had any evidence to offer.

We may commence our discussion with the great brick gate, described in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1904, p. 206. The first observation that must be made is, that further excavation has convinced me that the circular pits in the tops of the towers, referred to in the description just cited, are not part of the original scheme, but were dug as grain stores or to serve some similar purpose, by the occupants of the houses built on the top of the wall. Now that these houses have been removed, and a considerable stretch of the tower completely exposed, it is obvious that they cannot have been built till after the wall had fallen out of use and become ruined.

As it is inconceivable that a city of the importance of Gezer should have existed at any period without a wall, the ruin of the inner wall which contains the brick gate must have been synchronous with the erection of the outer wall which superseded it. If, therefore, we can date the houses erected over the brick towers, we are in a position to assign a minor limit to the date of the outer wall.

This fortunately is easy. These houses proved remarkably rich in small objects, such as scarabs, beads, pottery, &c. The evidence of these was absolutely unanimous. Every dateable object was contemporary with Amenhotep III, several of them bore his name, and I feel quite certain in assigning these houses to the middle of the second millenium B.C.

This chronological result is not a little startling. The outer wall is no doubt the latest of the defences of the city, but, though (as we shall see) repaired from time to time, it is fundamentally of the respectable antiquity of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence.

This outer wall served as the defence for the city built over the brick towers, and for two other cities that overlaid it—three in all. It thus lasted in use from about 1500 to about 100 B.C., at which latter date the site was deserted: that is about 1,400 years. Now the inner wall, that containing the brick towers, also serves three cities: and if we may assume the rate of growth to have been fairly uniform, we are led back to 2900 B.C. as the date of its foundation.

During these 2,800 years of occupation the débris accumulated to a depth of 28 feet. Underneath this there is a further depth of 12 feet, not 1 inch of which is virgin soil, between the rock and the foundation of the inner wall. The lowermost stratum contains sherds resembling those found in the caves. On the same scale we should have to put back the beginning of life on the mound to 4000 B.C., which I am becoming more and more convinced is nearer the truth than the 3000 B.C. that I was originally inclined to assign.

The excavation has shown that the brick towers are erected on a foundation of stone, 3 feet in thickness, and that the stretches of wall at the sides of the towers are also of stone. This suggests the question why brick was used at all; the normal building material in the city and neighbourhood is stone, which is more easily procurable than is brick. The only answer that I can see is the suggestion that possibly the towers are not native work, but were erected during the occupation of the city by some brick-using foreign race. The only race satisfying the condition that has left traces in the débris at so early a date is Egypt; and perhaps we may see in the brick gate evidence of a conquest of Gezer by Egypt previous to the capture effected by Tahutmes III, which is the first event in the city's history of which we have a written record.

With the possible exception of this assault by Tahutmes, all the attacks on Gezer mentioned in the literary history must have been directed against the outer wall; and we are led to examine the masonry of this structure in order to determine whether it offers any trace of the injuries and consequent repairs it must from time to time have received.

Such traces are not far to seek. So far as the wall has been exposed, there are 30 towers. An examination of the masonry shows that, with two exceptions, all of the 30 are insertions. The masonry of the main line of the wall consists of fairly large stones, dressed roughly with a hammer only, and packed with small field stones filling the corners and joints. The joints are wide, and the stones set in mud. The towers, however, show smaller stones, well chiselled, and dressed to a truly rectangular shape. In every case but the two towers just mentioned it is found that, either immediately at the point of contact of the tower with the wall, or (more commonly) 3 to 5 feet beyond it, there is a straight joint running

right through the wall. The well-squared stones appear on the tower side of this joint, but never on the wall side. The inference I draw from this is that at some time there was an extensive scheme of repair and strengthening carried out, and that at intervals along the wall a section was cut out and a massive square tower inserted. The two exceptional towers fortunately remain, not only to show that the wall in its original design was provided with towers, but also to negative the alternate hypothesis, that isolated towers were first built of good masonry, and afterwards joined by lengths of wall of an inferior type of construction. The masonry of these two towers is identical with that of the wall, and they are bonded to it.

Near the west end of the north side, for a length of about 150 feet, the masonry of the wall, though inferior to that of the towers, is of the same general character, and I believe contemporary. It is reasonable to infer that the wall for this length was breached by some hostile invasion, and that it was afterwards repaired and strengthened.

In the *Quarterly Statement* of April, 1903, p. 115, I have described the sloping face of rather rough masonry that has been carried round the tower at the north-east corner, butting against the wall at each side of the tower. It has since been ascertained that six of the towers along the wall display the same addition, and that a seventh, which owing to a settlement had fallen out of the perpendicular, has been buttressed with similar masonry. These six are the two corner towers at the east end, and two each on the north and south sides. It is quite safe to say that this sloping face is in every case a later addition, as no builders in their senses would have erected well-built square towers, with carefully-dressed corner stones, merely to serve as cores for roughly-built bastions of a different shape.

When we examine the literary history of Gezer, in order to find whether any light can be thrown on these successive buildings and rebuildings, an interesting series of coincidences present themselves. Consider first the narrative of 1 Kings ix, 16. The king of Egypt can hardly have burnt the city and decimated the inhabitants without breaching the walls; and a building monarch like Solomon might be expected to lavish especial care on a city like Gezer, in which he had so direct a personal interest. The series of towers is just such an extensive repair as he might be supposed to have

carried out, as well as the closing of the breach in the north side effected, on this hypothesis, by the Pharaoh. I feel at present strongly inclined to seek in the square towers inserted at irregular intervals along the wall for the tangible traces of this important event in the city's history.

The next reference of interest is the fortification by Bacchides, carried out during the year he held the city (1 Macc. ix, 52). Now the roughly-built bastions surrounding the towers at certain points are just such a fortification as might have been added during a brief military occupation. Bacchides may be supposed to have seen that the square towers (though superior in strength to a similar length of blank wall, and presumably superior to whatever towers may have existed in the wall previous to their insertion) were a source of weakness, owing to the straight joints that ran through the wall on each side of every one of them. He accordingly proceeded to mask these joints by building his bastions. The work is hasty, and put together with no pretence of art; and it is very incomplete. It probably was the intention of the builder of the bastions to erect similar structures round each of the towers, but he was interrupted when he had finished six. The capture of the city by Simon Maccabæus would be a sufficient reason for the interruption.

Bacchides held the city about a year, after which Simon broke down a tower, entered the city, purified it of idolatry, made it stronger than it was before, and built a house for himself (1 Macc. xiii, 43–53). Until the excavation described in the earlier part of this report has proceeded further, it cannot be said whether the work of Simon is to be seen in the great buildings now under examination, or whether it is to be sought in some as yet unopened part of the mound.

§ IV.—Supplementary Notes on Ninth Quarterly Report.

In the report published in the last number of the *Quarterly Statement*, dealing with the burial customs of the Gezerites, I referred at length to the deposits of food found in the earlier tombs. But I omitted to mention a singular detail in connection with these food deposits. The omission was intentional, as I wished to be quite sure of my ground before committing myself to print.

In a number of tombs, all about 1200 B.C., there were found with the vessels containing food exactly identical vessels containing one or more human bones. In one, for instance, was a small earthenware jug, containing the finger bones of an infant. In another was a similar jug, in which was an adult patella. Elsewhere was an infant's sacral bones. Most remarkable of all was a bowl into which the calvaria of a skull was exactly fitted, obviously with intention. It is represented in section in Fig. 3, and the figure, more than any length of argument, will leave no doubt on this point.

I am permitted, through the kindness of Dr. Merrill, to quote a parallel but apparently later example from Beit Jibrîn. This

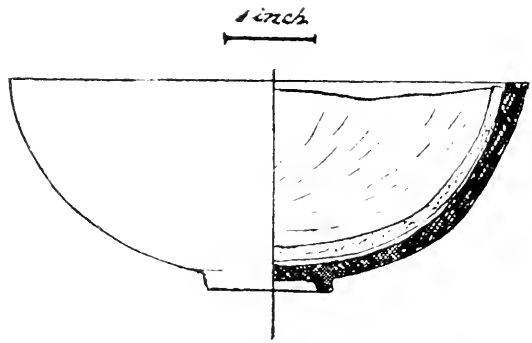


FIG. 3.—Bowl with fragment of Skull inserted.

specimen consisted of a bowl or cup-shaped glass vase, with a neck, and it contained an extraordinary assortment of relics: three adult toe bones (from different individuals); an adult finger bone; thumb bone of a child of 10; sacrum; right ulna and fragment of femur of an infant; and a fœtal toe bone.

Two possible explanations suggest themselves. We may here find a reminiscence of a funeral feast in which originally ceremonial cannibalism had been practised. Or else the bones may have been regarded as amulets: superstitions attached to such relics as the fingers of drowned persons are familiar to everyone, and these bones may have had some such virtue. I may re-assure possible sceptics, so far as I can foresee their objections, first, that it is impossible that the bones should have accidentally been intruded into the jugs, or been inserted by workmen, for in every case I cleared out the jugs myself, and saw that the earth they contained

had been undisturbed before I did so; and secondly, that they are not the surviving bones of originally complete skeletons, buried in jars like the infants in the High Place; for the jugs are never more than 6 or 8 inches high, and would not have contained skeletons of any size. The preponderance of *infant* bones will not escape attention.

Through the soil on the Tell, extending over a long lapse of time, are found numerous specimens of a class of object that I have never seen described elsewhere. These are, apparently, spindle-whorls; their peculiarity consists in their being made of the heads of human femora, sawn off and perforated through or near the fossa of the inter-articular ligament. Spindle-whorls of stone, bone, ivory, and pottery are found in profusion, showing that it was no poverty of material that led the Gezerites to adopt femur-heads. Had it been merely the obviously convenient shape that suggested the adaptation, we might have expected to find other human bones used for other purposes for which they are equally well adapted So far as I can find, however, these spindle-whorls (to call them what they *appear* to be) are in a solitary class by themselves, and without the light that may be expected from comparison with parallel customs, I have no explanation to offer regarding them. They seem, however, worth bearing in mind in connection with the custom of depositing single bones by themselves inside tombs, which is now brought to notice.

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip G. Baldensperger, Esq.

(*Continued from* "*Quarterly Statement*," 1904, *p.* 367.)

There are many kinds of sticks, rods, and staves, which Orientals always have in their hands; they are indiscriminately styled *'aṣá*, *cf.* the Hebrew *'ēṣ*. There are five words which require to be mentioned. The first is *ḳaḍîb*, a common stick of oak, about 3 to 3½ feet in length, which is carried in the hand or under the arm. It is not to lean upon, and, in fact, it shows that the holder is a man of position, superior to the workman or day-labourer. The Government officials, superior officers,

tax-gatherers, and schoolmasters use this short rod to threaten—or if necessary to beat—their inferiors, whoever they may be. A good stick of this kind is supposed to have forty knots. One associates with this the Hebrew *šêbeṭ*, with which the Israelite chastised his servant (Ex. xxi, 20); compare also Prov. x, 13, xiii, 24.

The dervish's rod (*meḥjâne*[*t*]) is invariably of almond wood, and has an inclined handle (Fig. 1); it is not more than 2 feet long,

Fig. 1.

and is supposed to possess healing virtues if a sick man is touched with it, and, if placed on the ground, it drives away serpents, like the *maṭṭeh* of Moses (Ex. vii, 12). The *meḥjâne*[*t*] is very much prized by its owner, and a dervish will not part with one easily. One given to me years ago, with great secrecy, was supposed to be able to drive away serpents, and I was enjoined to let it remain stored up carefully. Judah's staff (*maṭṭeh*, Gen. xxxviii, 18) was well known to Tamar, who took it as a pledge, knowing that its owner would certainly return to fetch it again. Whether the *maṭṭeh* corresponds to the *meḥjânet* or not, we read in Numbers xvii that the leaders of Israel brought every one his staff, on the flat handle of which was written his name. As the *meḥjânet* is considered to be sacred and is somewhat short, it is not used as a walking-stick; Jonathan, we remember, stretched out his *maṭṭeh*, dipped its broad handle into the honey, and ate it off his staff (1 Sam. xiv, 27). To avoid too frequent repetition, the same article may receive two different names, as when Isaiah (x, 24) says: "He shall smite thee with a *šêbeṭ* and shall lift up his *maṭṭeh* against thee, after the manner of Egypt." And, again, when he says: "O Assyrian, the *šêbeṭ* of mine anger, and the *maṭṭeh* in their hand is mine indignation" (Isaiah x, 5), he does not necessarily think of two different rods.

The shepherd's staff (*ʿuṣâ*) does not differ very much from the *ḳaḍîb* except that it is a foot or so longer, and consequently the shepherd can lean upon it when he stands elevated on some rock to watch over his flocks. The shepherds cut the staffs themselves in the forests, and, after peeling them partly, cut out different designs in the bark; the stick is then passed over fire,

and the designs are burnt into the wood. After this the rest of the peel is removed, and the rod is ready. No doubt Jacob took such staves and peeled or prepared them whilst going about with Laban's flocks (Gen. xxx, 37). The shepherd David came to the camp of Israel and set out against Goliath with his *mak̲k̲el* (1 Sam. xvii, 40), and the Israelites themselves are represented as leaving Egypt with the same kind of stick (Ex. xii, 11).

The prophet Jeremiah speaks of the beauty of the *mak̲k̲el* (Jer. xlviii, 17), which may have been more ornamented, perhaps, through intercourse with Babylonian art. Herodotus says of the Babylonians that they had ornamented sticks with heads of animals, or the like, and probably these were considered as talismans. We may, perhaps, compare Jeremiah ii, 27; Hosea iv, 12.

The *'okâ:* (عكاز) is the Patriarch's or Bishop's crook, and may correspond to the Hebrew *mash'enah*, *mish'enath*. The Hebrew word is used of the staves with which the princes digged the well at Beer (Numbers xxi, 18), and the angel which appeared before Gideon had one in his hand and touched the sacrifice and burnt it (Judges vi, 21). Elisha the prophet sends Gehazi with his *mish'enath* to lay it on the dead child of the Shunnamite (2 Kings iv, 31).

The *'okâ:ɛ[t]*, the feminine of the above, is used by the lame and the blind. The top is somewhat bent to aid the lame, whilst the blind man's stick is forked at the top.

The hooked *bâkûr* is a shorter staff than the European walking stick, and is not carried by the handle, but by the other end, and is essentially a riding stick. Bedouin horsemen always carry the *bâkûr* in times of peace and war. In Syria this stick is called *'okâjân* (عوكاجان).

The cane (خيزران) is a pliable walking stick with a porcelain, glass, or silver knob; it is imported from India, and is used by the aristocratic classes in town.

The *mat̲rak* is essentially everybody's and anybody's stick; it is cut from trees, especially the olive, and is generally used to beat animals or persons. Its principal use is for purpose of chastisement. It is a little thinner than the *k̲adîb*, although the same name can be given to it.

The term *'ûd* (عود) can be applied to any piece of wood which is not too thick, and is not especially intended for any of the above uses. A thicker, clumsier piece is called *k̲ashabe[t]* (خشبة).

There are three kinds of clubs in use in different parts of Palestine; they are made of hard wood, generally oak:—

(1) The *dabbûs* (دبوس) is the heavy round-headed club into which a considerable number of nails are driven to render the weapon more formidable both for attack and for defence; it is about 2 feet long (Fig. 2). A smaller weapon of this kind is the *dabbûse*[*t*],

Fig. 2.

which has a more oval head. It is found all over the mountainous regions of Palestine, and the fellaḥîn stick it in the girdle with the head upwards and generally inclined to the left, so as to be easily reached in case of emergency. Is it the *tôthaḥ* which Leviathan deems as of little account as stubble (Job xli, 29)? The modern *dabbûs* being of such universal use in Palestine, we may expect that its ancient representative should be mentioned at least once in the Bible.

(2) The *nabût* is 6 or 7 feet long, and has only a thick iron ring at the end (Fig. 3). It is used by the camel drivers of Philistia,

Fig. 3.

and is slung across their donkeys. (The camel drivers of the plains always have a donkey to carry the food, clothes, or small packages which they need on their journey.) This kind of stick is imported from Syria, as the treeless plains of the district cannot furnish the necessary poles of hard wood.

(3) The *ḳanwe*[*t*], or *ḥanfe*[*t*], is a curved club with the curved part a little flattened. It is mostly a Bedouin weapon, and is carried chiefly by the inhabitants of Moab, and it is no difficult matter to split the head of a Bedouin who has only the *kafîye*[*t*] and turban, as surely as with a sword. The *ṭabar* is a peculiar hammer-club, very common among the fellaḥîn, and can be more easily obtained than wooden clubs. The iron heads are made by the gypsies who pass through the villages. It is sometimes worn stuck in the girdle, and is less cumbersome than a *dabbûs*, though

quite as formidable a weapon (Fig. 4). What kind of instrument is meant by the hand-weapon of wood referred to in Numbers xxxv. 18, is of course unknown; it was probably one of the above.

FIG. 4.

The fire-arms of modern Palestine comprise the familiar antiquated matchlock rifle, probably in many cases handed down from father to son since the introduction of rifles into the country about a century and a half ago. The *barûde*[*t*], or rifle, is very heavy, and the marksman hardly ever shoots at anything without leaning his hand on a rock or branch to steady his aim. The people are very fond of game, and when their other occupations allow them a day or more out they hunt either gazelles or hares, but more commonly pigeons and partridges, though they will not disdain turtle-doves, crows, ducks in winter, and any bird of passage; starlings and thrushes are about the smallest birds they like to shoot. But the chief delight of the fellaḥîn is to go after the partridge, and this they do in three ways: by the *ḥuḍ*, the *marbaṭ*, or the *met'ame*[*t*].

The *ḥuḍ* is an enclosure covered with reeds and thorn-bushes, situated at about twenty paces from a small isolated spring of water in the mountains. The hunter goes there and conceals himself long before daybreak, to await the partridges which come to drink only at dawn and then retire to the mountains, where they cannot easily be found. Before the rifle was known the hunter provided himself with bow and arrows, and consequently the word for "to shoot" is derived from the word for a "bow."

The *marbaṭ* reminds us of the numerous references to snares in the Old Testament.

The *met'ame*[*t*] is also a lurking-place like the above, but not near water, and, as the name indicates, is really a "feeding-place." An isolated spot, where partridges are known to abound, is looked for, and *tibn* and a few grains are strewn round about for a few days. The hunter then hides one night, after having strewn the grain, in the enclosure, and when the birds approach shoots at them. The *birak* has already been illustrated and described by Mr. R. A. S. Macalister in the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1901, pp. 391–393, to which we refer the reader. There is a hole just

at the intersection of the sticks through which the sportsman puts the muzzle of the rifle, and thus resting it on the sticks, holds the contrivance upright and shoots the partridges which have gathered around holding council as to what this strange animal may be. The shaking of the *birak*, as I have myself observed, attracts the attention of the birds, and they gather not only out of curiosity but also for mutual protection. Partridges gather together in much the same manner when a fox or jackals pass, and the *birak*, with its fox's head, resembles a fox. The same also when a serpent enters the wall of a house; all the sparrows of the neighbourhood habitually gather around and make a noise, because they often have their nests in such holes. Did the Hebrews know the *birak*? One cannot help thinking of the speckled or painted bird to which the prophet Jeremiah refers (xii, 9).

Nearer the towns these three kinds of sport are not known, but the people make use of other artifices. Children use the familiar sieve propped up by a short stick, to which is attached a long string reaching to some hiding place; a few grains are strewn below the sieve, and when the small birds are well under the sieve the string is pulled and they are trapped. Besides this, bird-lime (*dibak*) is put on trees or on bushes to catch birds. The gluey substance is made in Syria, where it is extracted from the Cordia Myxa or Sebesten fruits. The fruit of the Sebesten is about the size of a grape, and ripens in August, and is almost yellow; the fruit when gathered is cut open and the inside is collected in a big cauldron, together with the kernels; it is then well beaten till it foams, and a solution of yellow arsenic (tersulphide of arsenic) mixed with water is added, and the whole is beaten up till it has a greenish hue. Nets for trapping birds (*shabake*[*t*], *shurak*) are spread by townsmen. Nets are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, the common term being *résheth* (Prov. i, 17; Ps. cxl, 5). Other words are to be found in Job xviii, among them the *sĕbâkâh* (שְׂבָכָה), compare the modern *shabake*[*t*]. With the Hebrew *pah* we have a parallel in the modern *fakh*, which is a trap made of two wooden bows which are bound together at their ends so that they can open and shut. They are kept open by means of a piece of wood, upon which is laid food to attract birds. When touched the bows shut and the bird is securely caught in the net which is on the other side.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ROMAN ROAD BETWEEN KERAK AND MADEBA.[1]

By Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D.

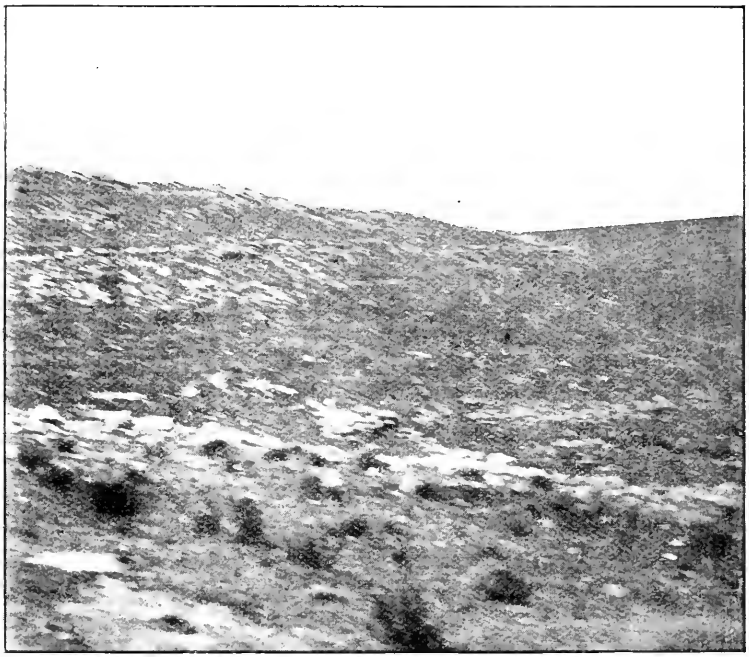
(*Continued from* "*Quarterly Statement*," 1904, *p.* 377.)

Second Day.—From Wady el-Môjib to Wady el-Wâleh.

8.40: We started from our camp by the stream. 8.47: Plateau, where the dark colour of the ground contrasts with the light colour of everything above it. Water springs here, and in winter there is a stream. The bed is marked by reeds. There are the remains of a rectangular building, not unlike the Roman station we examined yesterday on the opposite plateau. Khalil called the place el-Baṣṣeh (البصة), *i.e.*, "marshy" or "damp ground." 8.55: Another plateau, with more ruins, according to Khalil, el-Msetterā (المستيرا). We met with the first of several swarms of young locusts (Arab Jirād, جراد) hopping vigorously on the ground. Here a road or track branches from the main road and goes up the valley on this line of plateau. 9.15: Another small plateau with a group of four or five Roman milestones: *cf.* Germer Durand and Brünnow, the latter of whom took the same time between the group and the bed of the river as we did, viz., 35 minutes. One column bears the numeral CVIIII (109). According to this the group is the next in order to the lower group on the south side of the Môjib, on which several travellers have read the numeral CVIII (108). Yet they lie rather more than 40 minutes apart, that is more than double a Roman mile (it will be remembered we took only 15 minutes between the two groups on the south side). One expects a milestone between them, on the north bank, some 10 minutes or more above the stream. No trace of this, however, has been reported by any traveller. Therefore, either

[1] *Correction:* In my review of Professor Brünnow's great work *Die Provincia Arabia*, vol. i, in last *Quarterly Statement* (pp. 397 *sqq.*), I corrected the numbering which he made on pp. 36 and 40 for certain Roman milestones on the south bank of Wady el-Môjib. Professor Brünnow has himself corrected these figures in a list on p. 531 of "Addenda et Corrigenda," which I regret escaped my notice while reviewing the volume.—G.A.S.

the stone bearing the numeral CVIIII (109) has been removed from its proper position if the reading of it is correct; or it has been read wrongly; or we ought to read CVII (107) and CVI (106) on the two groups south of the Mōjib instead of CVIII (108) and CVII (107). The badly-weathered state of the columns makes the alternative of a false reading probable But, finally, we must remember that in mountainous countries the Romans appear



Wall at Dhībān.

to have sometimes calculated the distances not by the actual lengths of the climbing, winding road, but by "horizontal miles" (cf. *Our Roman Highways*, by Forbes and Burmester, p. 96). This may be a case in point.

10.2.—Reached the northern brink of the cañon, having taken 1 hour 22 minutes from the stream. The descent on a much hotter day had occupied us 1 hour 15 minutes, and our mules 1 hour 45 minutes. Baedeker gives 1 hour 30 minutes for the descent; Brünnow 1 hour 7 minutes.

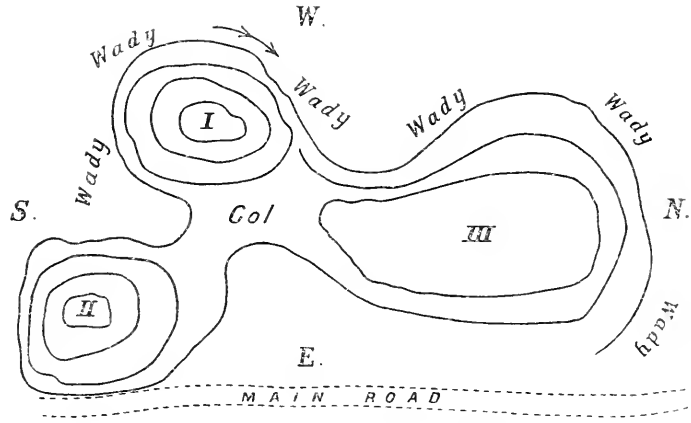
On the edge of the cañon, a little over 10 minutes east from the road, are the ruins usually called 'Ara'er, the ancient 'Aro'er. But Khalil called this ruin 'Aḳrabā (عقربا), and placed Khurbet 'Ara'r, as he called it, further east "about an hour," also on the brink of the cañon (*cf.* Burckhardt's Aḳeb el-Debs by the top of the descent). Since coming home I find that Brünnow also received the name 'Aḳraba for the ruins nearer the road, and el-'Ara'ir for others half-an-hour to the east. It will be remembered that the name 'Aḳraba, "scorpion," has been found in other parts of the Arabian East near steep, zig-zag ascents.

10.18.—Left the edge of the Wady el-Mōjib and rode across the level, fertile plateau known as el-Kūra (الكورة), by the paved road towards Dhībān. I did not see the milestone, mentioned by Bliss, nor see nor hear of the Ḳeṣūr el-Besheir reported by Burckhardt (p. 372) as one hour to the west of 'Ara'ir (to be distinguished from the Ḳuṣr Bsheir south of the Arnon and north of Lejjun).

10.50.—Dhībān, pronounced Zibān by Arabs on the spot. On the way south we had made a hasty examination of the ruins, which are very extensive; but except for some older-looking walls, traces of which appear in the photograph, they are apparently all Byzantine. The masonry is mainly what one sees in other ruins in Moab: the thicker walls are faced with dressed stones, but the interior is rubble. Dhībān is usually described as lying on two hills; but there are really *three*, all to the west of the present road, and even to the east of this and across the wady which lies there the ruins spread up to the neighbouring knolls. At one period or another the town must have been as large as any in Moab: *cf.* the epithet Παμμεγέθης applied by Eusebius in the *Onomasticon*. As impressive as the extent of the ruins is the number of roads—four or five in addition to the trunk road—which converge upon them across the rich land. The three hills on which the main city and its defences stood are related as in the accompanying sketch (p. 42). The principal is that to the west, marked I, above a deep wady, which encompasses three sides of it: probably the citadel stood here. On the northern slope are the two lines of ancient wall given in the photograph, one above the other, the upper 5 feet thick. One of these appears to be the same wall as runs along the western slope of the north hill, marked III, and round its

northern end. On the east of the south hill, marked II, are also traces of a wall. Probably therefore, the ancient city comprised all three hills along with the *col* connecting them; but as I have said, it also spread eastward over the road and the shallow wady beside it to the slopes beyond, on which are many scattered ruins.

11.10: Left Dhībān, crossed the wady to the north of it, and cantered over the plateau by the side of the Roman road, here very distinct. 11.30: Immediately to the west of the road the ruins of a rectangular building, 50 paces by 54 (Brünnow, 50 paces square; he calls it Abu Ṣijān, and took 50 minutes from here to Dhībān), with traces of smaller buildings attached to it, very similar to the

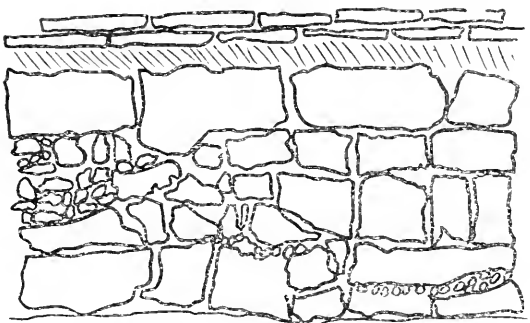


Plan of Hills at Dhībān.

fort and *mansio* on the south bank of the Mōjib. The paved road is here 6 paces broad. As one looks back, its course lies very clear through the wheat fields; clear because, although overgrown, it bears only grass, the fellaḥin being unable to plough it. Although the ground is practically level, the road does not show, as Roman roads are fabled to do, a straight line, but oscillates. A few hundred yards—7 minutes—to the north of the ruin just mentioned is a fragment of a Roman milestone of the usual shape: a round column with rectangular base. There is nothing legible upon it. It may be one of the two fragments which Father Durand noticed "on approaching Wady Wāleh" from the south (*Rev. Bib.*, vi, 589), and which Father Michon had previously reported (*ibid.*, p. 289). One of these gave the name of Furius Severianus, legate under

Caracalla: the other bore the letters ΔΙΟ, *i.e.* Diocletian. From this point Tell 'Oreineh was visible to us due east.

From here we descended from the plateau by the wady running north into the Wady Wāleh. Khalil called it Wādy el 'Asideh (السدة), but Brünnow gives it as Wady Abu Sidr. On this descent the Roman road presents some interesting features. It keeps on the east of the wady, carefully following the contours, and is on better gradients than the modern road, which holds to the west of it, and occasionally coincides with the dry torrent bed. Where the Roman road approaches the latter it is built up for a height of about 4 feet from the road, with irregular, partly dressed stones, surmounted by a double layer of flat limestones, which can



Structure of Roman Road near Dhībān.

have been readily procured, almost without need of dressing, from the neighbouring easily-split strata. The pavement lies back 2 or 3 inches from the edge of the supporting wall and slightly tilted towards the edge. The interstices were filled with earth; I found no mortar here. We slowly followed the Roman road, observing that where the rock which it passes over is flat no pavement was laid down, and that where a little earth was packed in the paving stones riding was easy; and there was even a beautiful surface for wheels. But where this packing was absent, the road must have been difficult for horses, and horrible for wheels. Probably the Romans packed earth everywhere that it would lie.

Brünnow reports (p. 29) at 32 minutes from the Wady el-Wāleh a milestone of Trajan, "probably the fifteenth from Mādebā."

Near the top of the final steep descent to the Wady Wāleh we came on remains of a building, then we lost the road; the

present path descends on bad gradients to the right, the road probably followed easier ones to the left above the mouth of the Wady el-'Asideh. We reached the Wāleh stream at 12.45, after many delays on the road. The journey from here to Dhībān in the opposite direction had taken us 1 hour 33 minutes; Brünnow, 1 hour 40 minutes.

The Wāleh stream is not so large as the Mōjib. Just below the ford the water escapes over the hard, flat limestone strata by channels it has worn, and falls in cascades of 3 or 4 feet. The lower courses of four piers on the south side and two on the north, just above the cascades, are all that remain of the Roman bridge: necessary in winter when the waters are up. Above the piers, on the south side, is a curious block of masonry, with aqueduct along the top, leading to a vertical shaft, the sides of which, like those of the aqueduct, are cemented, the whole apparently designed to turn a waterwheel. There is another similar construction in the mouth of the Wady el-'Asideh, an aqueduct ending in a small square tower, with a central circular shaft 6 feet 6 inches in diameter, from which there is no sign of an issue. We walked up the Wady el-'Asideh (or Abu Sidr), and found remains of buildings very old and rough. The Roman road appears, on leaving the south end of the bridge, to follow the Wady el-'Asideh for some distance; then we lost it.

The name el-Wāleh or Wāleh (الوالة) appears in chapter xxviii of Boha-ed-Din's *Life of Saladin* as the camping-place of the Franks after they had raised the siege of Kerak and the Sultan had retired to Hesbon and Ma'in (though Röhricht appears to give another explanation, as if Bela, *i.e.*, Zoar, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, p. 411, n. 3). The meaning of the root is "to be sad," but one derivative means "desert," and another is applied (according to Freytag) to water running out into the desert. As is well known, the Wady el-Wāleh is a tributary of the Mōjib, which it reaches under the name of the Seil el-Heidān (الهيدان).

Temperatures in Wady Wāleh on April 20th, 9.30 p.m., 68°; 10.30, 66°. April 21st, 6 a.m., 59°; 7.30, 67°. April 25th, 4.30 p.m., 72°; 8, 59°; 10.30, 55°. April 26th, 7 a.m., 58°. The wady, lying higher than the Wady Mōjib, was thus considerably cooler.

Third Day.—From Wady el-Wāleh to Mādebā.

8.5 : We crossed the stream to the north bank. Here is a mill, to which some Bedawin women were bringing grain. The miller gets one-twelfth of what he grinds. A wady close by bears the name, according to Khalil, of Sheikh Iskander. Brünnow found the same name further up the stream to the east.

Directly opposite the wady which we descended yesterday, there runs into the Wady el-Wāleh from the north the Wady Umm Sa'īdāt, or Imsa'īdāt (اسعيدات). The Roman road follows the east side of this wady, ascending on an easy gradient, while the present road keeps to the stream bed. 8.12 : Roman milestone not recorded by Germer Durand (Brünnow (pp. 21–22)). The Emperor's name is Marcus Aurelius : the numeral is uncertain, either XII, or, as Brünnow thinks, XIII, marked as from Mādebā (AMEΔAMPXIII). Near it the roughly-dressed stones of the road have been used to prop a Turkish telegraph post. 8.20 : Top of ridge at north end of Wady Imsa'īdāt, and descent into another narrow wady. Thence still due north up the succeeding ridge to the ruin of a small tower, 8.28, on the right, and to another, 8.30, on the left. 8.31 : Group of Roman milestones a couple of minutes to the east, and above the present road. They have been described fully by Mr. Bliss. One bears the names of Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius, and is marked in Greek and Latin numerals as the XIth mile, *i.e.*, from Mādebā (as Germer-Durand, hardly from Ma'in as Bliss supposes). We took 19 minutes from the previous milestone with the uncertain numeral XII (or XIII, according to Brünnow, who supposes that the road between accomplished a long detour in order to avoid the wadies). So long a detour is hardly probable, and therefore the reading XII on the milestone in question is the more likely. Other stones of the group XI bear the names of Galerius and Constantine.

From this the road passes along the edge of the deep Wady es-Ṣarabīṭ (الصرابيط). Colonel Conder gives the singular Sarbuṭ (the Arabic is misprinted Marbūt), as "applied to pillar shafts and milestones" (*Survey of Eastern Palestine*, *Memoirs*, p. 134). Obviously the wady takes its name from the milestones above it. 8.45 : We passed another group of these, evidently the same as Father Durand describes (*Rev. Bibl.*, vi, 590) as consisting at least of four, one of

which is marked with the figure X. We had taken 14 minutes from the previous group, marked XI.

8.47: We reached the top of the ridge, and the edge of the plateau. From this the view is very extensive, and Khalil pointed out to me a number of wadies which are not marked on any map, and named them. Later we went carefully over their names. West of the Roman road we were following, five wadies run from north to south. Taken from the east, there is—(1) The Ṭala'at el-Manṣaf (طلعة المنصف).[1] This rather shallow wady takes its rise at Libb, and, running at first due south and then south-west, debouches into the Wady Wāleh; the Roman road runs along or near its east brink: (2) El Baḳei'a esh-Sharḳi (البقيع الشرقي); (3) El Baḳei'a el-Gharbi (البقيع الغربي); (4) 'Abu Khsheibeh (ابو خشيبه); (5) Tala'at el-'Arāïs (طلعة العرايس). At the head of this wady stands the ruin of the town 'Aṭṭārus, and lower down it that of Ḳuriat. These last four join together in one, called Ez-Zirdab (الزردب)—a name which was explained to me as meaning "Junction." The lexicons define the root as "to choke" or "stifle," and there is another form of it, Zardamat, which means gullet. Through the Zirdab these wadies immediately join the Wady Wāleh, now known as the Seil el-Heidān (سيل الهيدن), the main tributary from the north of the Wady el-Mōjib.

Other place names indicated to me from this viewpoint: to the south of Wady el-Wāleh two ruins, Umm 'Eshjīreh (ام اشجيرة) and (west of Dhībān) Khurbet es-Saḥīleh (السحيله); and to the south of Wady el-Mōjib a rocky promontory, with (Khalil said) an old "beled" on it, called Esh-Shḳeiḳ (الشقيق). Professor Musil, in the prospectus of his forthcoming map, gives a Seil esh-Shḳêḳ draining the country to the west of Shiḥān. It is the Wady ech-Cheqiq of De Sauley (*Voyage*, I, 323), running north-east. And Seetzen, on his second journey, came upon the 'Ain Sgêk, south of the Mōjib (*Reisen*, II, 349).

About 9 we left our viewpoint and held by the road along the upper reach of the Ṭala'at el-Manṣaf. 9.20: Newly-excavated cistern under the telegraph line, just below Libb, the ruins of which

[1] This appears to be the same wady which Brünnow (pp. 4 and 20) name Minshef Abu Zeid.

cover the top of a hill to the west of the road, and about 300 feet above it. Just to the south of Libb the road is joined by a track coming in from the north-west, probably from Ma'in. We spent half-an-hour rambling over the ruins of Libb. There are many vaulted buildings, numerous deep cisterns, several caves, a few squared lintels, and a carven trough. A rectangular building on the summit is without distinction, and we saw no other signs of public architecture—churches and the like, such as one sees at Machaerus and in other ruins. With this agrees the fact that the name of the town is not discoverable in ancient maps or records. There is a *Lydia* in Moab on Ptolemy's map, but it can hardly (even if a mistake for Lybia were conceivable) be this place, Libb. At 9.50 we left the summit and descended the northern slope into the deep Wady Libb, about 400 feet below the summit, and, crossing the dry torrent bed, proceeded by a paved road up the opposite ridge to its summit, where this branch road joins the Roman road. Here at 10.2 we found some ruins, to which Khalil gave the name Ḥareidhein (حريدين). From this he pointed out to me to the west of Libb the Wady el-Meshūḍḍ (المشض). East of Ḥareidhein the land is called 'Ard 'Itlā esh-Sha'al (ارض العتلا الشعل), and east of this 'Ard Abu el-'Ajūl (ارض ابو العجول).

10.10: We left this viewpoint, and at 10.11 passed Roman milestones on the right of the road, at least two. These must contain the one on which Germer Durand deciphered the Greek ΜΗ, or VIII miles, *i.e.*, from Mādebā. Our time for riding the distance to this stone from the Xth was 35 minutes. Brünnow, wrongly I think, styles it "probably" the VIIth from Mādebā. Immediately thereafter we came on a ruined Kerakon, as the Arabs call it, "barrack," or military post on the edge of the shallow Wady el-Ḥabīs (الحبيس), an upper and the most easterly branch of the Wady Zerḳa Ma'in. 10.20: Crossed the bed of the Wady el-Ḥabīs with the Roman road, Ma'in full in sight to the west. 10.26: Roman milestone, the VIIth from Mādebā (not the VIth as Brünnow, p. 19, states), 15 minutes from the previous, the VIIIth. 10.30: Top of ascent on the north of the Wady el-Ḥabīs. 10.35: Khurbet el-Mureijmeh (المريجمة) on right of the road. 10.53: On the crest of a swell of the plateau we came in sight of Mādebā; on the left a hamlet of two or three houses, el-Bṭān (البطان = mule's girth). 11.8:

Roman milestone: *cf.* Germer Durand, p. 590; Brünnow, p. 19, "probably the third from Mādebā," rather the IVth. We had taken only 42 minutes from the VIIth, but this was due to much cantering. From here to Mādebā on either side of the road is broad fertile land, the road following the edge of the shallow Wady el-Ḥabīs on the right. On the left is another equally shallow depression, at the head of which Mādebā is conspicuous on its Tell. Across it are the rolling limestone hills north-north-east of Ma'in. 11.35: We passed Et-Teim lying some distance to the west. 12: After some cantering we reached Mādebā, 52 minutes from the IVth milestone, and just three hours riding (not including stoppages) from the XIth.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., and E. W. G. Masterman, F.R.C.S.

(*Concluded from "Quarterly Statement,"* 1904, *p.* 160.)

PERSONAL NAMES.

LIST II.

Classified Catalogue of Names Collected in Nablus.

The persons from whom these names were collected were mostly Muslim fellaḥîn. Some, however, are Christians, and names found exclusively among Christians are denoted by † prefixed. Female names are distinguished by * prefixed. Words in square brackets are supplied to complete the sense implied by certain names.

Class A: Theophorous Names.—Ḥurs Allah, "Object of God's Protection"; Rizḳ Allah, "Property of God"; 'Abd Allah, "Servant of God"; ['Abd] el-Bâri, "Servant of the Creator"; 'Abd el-Ḥamîd, "Servant of the Praised"; 'Abd el-Ḥaḳḳ, "Servant of the Truth"; 'Abd el-Ḫallâḳ, "Servant of the Creator"; 'Abd ed-Dahabi, "Servant of the Golden"; ['Abd] er-Raḥmân, "Servant of the Merciful"; 'Abd er-Ra'ûf, "Servant of the Merciful"; 'Abd er-Razzâḳ, "Servant of the Apportioner"; ['Abd] eṣ-Ṣamad, "Servant of the Everlasting; 'Abd el-Fattâḥ, "Servant of the Opener"; 'Abd el-Ghâfir, "Servant of the Forgiver"; 'Abd el Ghani, "Servant

of the Rich"; 'Abd el-Karîm, "Servant of the Generous"; 'Abd el-Laṭîf, "Servant of the Amiable"; 'Abd el-Maǧîd, "Servant of the Glorious"; 'Abd en-Nûr, "Servant of the Light"; 'Abd el-Wahhâb, "Servant of the Bestower."

Class B: Names denoting Consecration to Inferior Beings or to Religion.—The following names denote consecration to the Muslim faith:—Burhân ed-Dîn, "Proof of the Faith"; Ḫair ed-Dîn, "Good of the Faith." As further examples of similar names the following, from other sources, may be compared:—Shams ed-Dîn, "Sun of the Faith"; Kamâl ed-Dîn, "Completeness of the Faith"; Nûr ed-Dîn, "Light of the Faith."

The following names derived from religious professions or occupations may also be included in this class:—Ḫûri, "A Christian priest"; Durzi, "A Druze"; Darwîsh, "A Dervish"; Muslamâni, "A convert to Islam from Christianity or Judaism"; Sayyid, "Prince" (a descendant of Muḥammad); Sharîf, "Noble" (a descendant of Muḥammad); Shaiḫ Makkah, "Sheikh of Mecca"; †Ṣalîbah, "One signed with a cross, a Christian"; 'Armân, "Uncircumcised"; 'Îsawi, "Christian"; Ḳadrah,[1] "Predestined"; Kâhin, "A Jewish or Samaritan priest."

Class C: Names of Angels, Saints, and Heroes.—(As in the previous list it is not easy to draw the line between this and the following classes):—Ibrahîm, Isma'îl, Antûn, Abu Bakr, Ǧuḥa,[2] Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Aḥmad, Muḥammad, Maḥmûd, †Ḥanna (John), Miḫa'îl, Ḫalîl, Ḫâlid, Sulaimân, *Sârah, 'Ali, 'Ais (Esau), 'Aisa (Jesus, Esau), *Fâṭmah, Ḳais, Kin'ân (Canaan), *Maryam, Mûsa, Munkar,[3] Abu Hubal,[4] *Hâǧar (Hagar), Ya'ḳûb (Jacob), Yûnus (Jonah).

Class D: Descriptive Names.—1. Colours.—Ḥamûr, "Red"; Ḫudr,[5] "Green"; *Ḫarûbah,[6] "Coloured like the Carob-bean"; Ad-ham, 'Dark green"; *Samârah, "Brown"; *Shuḳrah, "Light red"; 'Abadi, "Black, negroid"; Aghbar, "Dusty"; *Ḳamḥawah, "Corn coloured."

2. Bodily Qualities.—(*a*) Excellencies or Neutral Qualities.—Buḫsh,[7] "Full-buttocked" (coll.); *Ḫasînah, "Handsome" (dim.); El-Ḥusn, "Beauty"; *Ḫalûb, "Rich in milk"; Ḥad', "Short" (coll.); *Rashîḳah, "Elegant"; Zain, "Beautiful"; *Zainah, "Beautiful" (fem.); Sahlab, "Tall"; Saghmûṭ, "Tall"; Salîm,

[1] An order of Derwishes.

[2] Names of a well-known jester of whom stories, many indecent, are told.

[3] One of the angels who examines the dead in the grave.

[4] Name of an ancient Arab idol.

[5] Also the Spirit of Vegetation, confounded by modern Muslims and Christians with Elijah and with St. George.

[6] Also used of a beautiful girl with small bones and a fair skin.

[7] Lit. hole.

"Peaceful"; Suwailim (dim.); *Sâlimah, "Sound"; Shabîb, "Youthful, brisk"; Shantar, "Slender fingered"; *Ṣabbah, "Beautiful"[1]; Ṣâfi, "Bright"; Ṭawîl, "Tall"; *Ẓarîfah, "Elegant"; Ẓâhir, "Appearance"; 'Ushsh, "Small, thin"[2]; 'Aṭ'ant, "Long and thin"; 'Amûdi, "Like a column" (prob. upright); Mughabghab, "Full bearded" (coll.)[3]; *Falakah, "Full breasted"; Ḳarmân, "Old man"; Kamâl, "Complete"; Malḥam, "Fat"; Manîf, "Tall"; *Na'imah, "Excellent, graceful"; Hursh, "Very old" (especially used of an ox). (*b*) Defects.—Garîbân, "Itchy" (dim.); Galuk "Ectropion"; Gaw'ân, "Hungry"; Aḥras, "Dumb": Ḥarâm, "A disease of the joints"; Ḥafshâ, "Dayblind"; Marmash, "Clear eyed"; Abu Sittah, "Father of six" (fingers): Ashram, "Hare-lipped"; Shari, "Having nettle-rash"; Shun'ah "Ugliness"; 'Awir, "One-eyed"; 'Airût, "Toothless"; 'Ayyân "Sick"; Ḳara', "Baldness"; Hashîm, "Feeble."

3. Mental Qualities.—Amîn, "Faithful": Bard, "Cold"; *Murrah, "Bitter"; Muta'ib, "Tiresome"; Ta'ib, "Proud" (or wandering, absent minded); *Ḥumûdah, "Praiseworthy"; Ḥukârah, "Contemptibleness"; Ḥarfân, "Doting, idiotic"; Ḥarîm, "Shameless"; *Ḥâwîah, "Empty, void"; Abu Da'ih, "Father of giddiness"[4]; Zâki, "Pure"; Zamḳân, "Angry" (coll.)[5]; *Zâhidah, "Abstinent"; Esh-Shaiṭân, "The devil"[6]; Shaḳwân, "Miserable"; Shanâwi, "Hater"[7]; Dab'i, "Savage, hyaena-like"; Dal', "Crooked, spoiled" (child); 'Aḳiṣ, "Niggardly"; Ghashîm, "Fool, inexperienced"; Abu Ghadab, "Father of anger"; Fâsid, "Corrupt"; Ḳunzu'ah, "Pride" (coll.)[8]; El-La'ith, "The confused."

4. Habits.—Barbak, "One who cheats with words"; Buzum, "To bite (people) with front teeth"; Taġġah, "One who bounces like a ball"; Ga'idi, "A buffoon"; Ga'rah, "One who roars like a bull"; Ḥalḥal, "To move, shake"; Ḥâlmah, "Forgiving"; Ḥishân, "Coarse-mannered": Ḥaṭṭâr, "A strutter"; Ḥallât, "A confuser, mixer"; Ḥammâsh, "A scratcher"; Daḥlah, "Rolling"; Za'abi, "A croaker"; Sadâh, "One who lies much on the ground"; Sharaitah, "A little rag"[9]: Ṣâïmah, "Fasting" (fem.); Ṭaḳṭaḳ, "Noisy"; Ṭaḳṭaḳah, "Noisy" (fem.); Muṭi', "Obedient"; 'Atîḳ, "Ancient"[9]; 'Aġ'aġ, "One who makes a disturbance"; 'Aṣṣâf, "One who goes from the right way (literally or morally)"; 'Âḳir,

[1] Used of a beauty spot on a horse.
[2] Lit. bird's nest.
[3] Lit. wrinkled, creased.
[4] Or father of a conqueror.
[5] Lit. filled up.
[6] Popularly used rather as a compliment of a diabolically clever person.
[7] Esp. a neglecter of children.
[8] Lit. cock's comb, or a tuft of hair.
[9] Both these words used of one who habitually goes about ragged.

"A backbiter" (or barren); 'Allâk, "A chatterer"; Ghânam, "A spoiler" (taker of spoil); Futun, "A deceiver"; Mufaḍḍi, "One who empties"; Falash, "A butter-fingers"; Kushkush, "A rattler, jingler"; Kaïd, "A deceiver"; Kawwa', "One who reclines much on the elbow"; Kûkash, "To collect things together"; El-Lahi, "The neglectful of others"; Hawwash, "A sower of discord."

5. Unclassifiable Descriptive Words.—Tâfish, "A defiler, fugitive"; Maḥrûḳ, "Burnt"; Maḥrûm, "accursed"; Marashsh, "sprinkled"; Zâha, "blossoming"; Es-Suḫn, "the hot"; Sarhad, "Cold"; Masrûġi, "Saddled" (? saddler); Saïh, "A wanderer"; Abu Shûm, "Father of misfortune"; Shôkah, "power" (lit. "a thorn"); Shalhûb, "Inflamed" (coll.); Maṣîṣ, "Suckled" (or "pack thread")[1]; Mus', "Loosed"; 'Akir, "Muddy"; *'Aliah, "High"; 'Awas, "Unleavened"; Ghalbân, "Conquering"; Ghalyân, "Boiling"; Ḳâsim, "A divider"; Abu Mâl, "Father of possessions"; Mahyâr, "Of a noble house"; Ra'if, "Outstripping"; Rafât, "Exalted."

Class E: Territorial Names.—Badawi, "A Bedawi"; Barbari, "Native of Barbary"; Turk, "A Turk"; Takrûri, "A Soudanese negro"; Tamîmi, "One of a Bedawin tribe" (Tamim); Ġabâbi, "Native of Ġabâb"[2]; El-Ḥabash, "The Abyssinian"; El-Ḥiġâzi, "The Arabian"; El-Ḥindi, "The Indian"; El-Ḥindîyah, "The Indian" (fem.); El-Rabaḍi, "The Suburban"; El-Zanki, "The Egyptian" (or Gipsy); Saḥli, "Coast-dweller"; Salṭi, "Native of Es-Salṭ"; Salfîti, "Native of Salfît"; Sâmiri, "Native of Samaria"; Ṭaluzîyah, "Native of Taluzeh" (fem.); 'Arabîyah, "Dweller among Bedawin"; 'Araybah, "Dweller among Bedawin" (dim.); 'Arafât, "A mountain near Mecca"; 'Azzûni, "Dweller in 'Azzûn"; 'Askalun, "Ascalon"; *'Anabtawah, "Native of 'Anabta"; 'Awartâni, "Native of 'Awarta"; Ghâbi, "Dweller in a forest" (prob.); Gharîb, "Stranger"; *Fallâḥah, "A peasant"; Ḳiblâwi, "Southerner"; Ḳaf'iti, "Dweller in Ḳaf'it"; Kurdi, "A Kurd"; Luddâwi, "Native of Ludd"; Maṣri, "Native of Egypt"; Munyâwi, "Native of Munea"; Nablûsi, "Native of Nablus"; Nûri, "Gipsy"; Hashîm, "One of a certain Bedawin tribe."

Class F: Titles, Trades, and Occupations.—Âgha, "Turkish officer"; Âlati, "Player on a stringed instrument"; Bâsha, "Pasha"; Bustâni, "Gardener"; *Baṣṣârah, "Witch"; El-Biṭâr, "Farrier, veterinary surgeon"; Bannâ, "Architect, builder"; Bawârdi, "Infantry soldier" (coll.); Mabayyiḍ, "Whitener" (of copper vessels); Ġâbi, "Tax-gatherer"; Ġabbân, "Cheesemonger";

[1] Also an ox-goad.

[2] Also a monkey-leader, the natives of this village being largely occupied in this form of mountebankery.

*Ġâriyah, "Slave-girl"; *Ġinkîyah, "Low female dancer"; Ġawhari, "Jeweller"; Ḥaġġâr, "Stonemason"; Ḥaramîyah, "Thief"; Ḥashshâsh, "Smoker or seller of Indian hemp"; Ḥushḥush, "Grass-cutter"; Ḥaṣrâwi, "Mat-maker"; Ḥaffâr, "Digger" (esp. of graves); Ḥakîm, "Learned man, physician"; Ḥalwâni, "Sweet-maker"; Ḥammâmi, "Bath attendant"; Ḥammâr, "Donkey driver"; Ḥannâwi, "Maker or seller of henna"; Ḥúgah, "Teacher" (Turk.); Ḥarraz, "Sewer of water-skins"; Ḫaznadâr, "Treasurer"; Ḫaṭîb, "Preacher, schoolmaster" (Muslim); Ḫandaḳġi, "Ditch-digger"; *Ḫanûm, "Lady" (Turk.); Muḫtâr, "Headman of a village, Government tax collector"; Dallâl, "Auctioneer"; Dîwâni, "Courtier"; Dayah, "Midwife"; *Raḳîyah, "Sorceress"; Rammâl, "Geomancer"; Ra'i, "Shepherd"; Zakkâr, "Wine-skin filler"; Zammâr, "Piper"; Sâbih, "Swimmer"; Safraġi, "Waiter"; Saḳa, "Water-carrier"; Sûḳi,[1] "A market trader"; Shubraṣi, "Watchman engaged by collector of taxes of fellaḥîn"; Shûbâshi, "One who sings with a 'head voice,' like most native singers"; Sha"âr, "Hair-dresser"; Sha'ir, "Poet, strolling minstrel"[2]; Shawîsh, "Sergeant" (Turk.); Sâbûnġi, "Soap-maker"; Ṣâni', "Artisan"; Muṭabbaḳâni, "Maker of muṭabbaḳ" (a sweetmeat); 'Arbaġi, "Carriage driver"; *'Arîfah, "Overseer"; 'Azzâm, "Giver of invitations"; 'Aḳḳâd, "Vault-builder"; 'Awwâd, "A lute player"; Ghalâyîni, "A tobacco-pipe maker"; Ghannâm, "A shepherd"; Fadâwi, "Horseman"; Farrâ, "Furrier"; Faḫûri, "Potter"; Ḳusâṣi, "Story-teller"; Kâṣid, "Traveller"; Ḳaḍamâni, "A roaster of peas"; Ḳâḍi, "A judge"; Kababġi, "Maker of kabab" (roast meat); Karâmli, "Gatherer of fuel"; Lahḥâm, "Butcher"; Nashshâr, "Sawyer"; Mustanṭiḳ, "Examiner in law court"; Naṭûr, "Watchman"; Mahdi, "Guide"; Mawaḳḳat, "Timekeeper."[3]

Class G: Names Derived from Objects.—1. Parts of the Body.—Ibṭ, "Armpit"; El-Bizz, "The breast"; Ġa'rah, "Anus"; Abu Diyyah, "Father of a hand;" Abu Shanab, "Father of a moustache"; Abu Shûshah, "Father of a topknot"; Ṣadr, "Chest"; Dila', "Rib"; 'Azûm, "Canine tooth"; Abu-'Aṣab, "Father of nerves"; Fashshah, "Lung" (coll.); Fûwâd, "Heart"; Abu-Liḥyah, "Father of a beard"; Abu Uṣba, "Father of a finger" (or toe).[4]

2. Animals and Parts of Animals.—*Istatîyah, "Little dove"; Bâzain, "Two falcons"; Gâmûs, "Buffalo"; *Ḥagalah, "Partridge"; Ḥaidar, "Lion"; Ḥalbûs, "Flea"; Dubb, "Bear"; Dhibah, "She-wolf"; Dhiyâb, "Wolves"; Rîshah, "Feather"; Zughlul, "Young pigeon"; Zâghah, "Crow, rook"; Umm-es-Sab', "Mother of a

[1] Also plebeian.

[2] Also liar.

[3] Also caller to prayers.

[4] Probably names of this class refer to some defect in the member specified.

lion"; Saḫlah, "Kid"; Sunûnah, "Swallow"; Shuḫrûrah, "Blackbird"; Shimâr, "Partridge"; Shâhîn, "Falcon"; Ṣûṣ, "Young chicken"; *Ṣuṣah, "Young chicken"; 'Abûs, "Lion" (or perhaps "*'Ubûs*," stern); 'Ukâb, "Eagle" (or perhaps "*'Ikâb*," punishment); 'Akrûk, "Frog" (or thin person); 'Ukâshah, "Spider" (or spider's web); 'Alûl, "A two-year old bull"; Abu-'Awf, "A male locust"; Ghurâb, "Crow, raven"; Abu-Ghazâl, "Father of a gazelle"; Farḫ, "Chicken"; Fahd, "Lynx, panther"; *Fahdah, "Lynx"; Ḳâḳâ, "Egg" (coll.)[1]; Ḳumri, "Turtle-dove"; Kurr, "Donkey-foal"; Ka'ud, "Young camel"; Mahâh, "Antelope"; Nimr, "Panther"; Wazzah, "Goose"; Wâwi, "Jackal"; Abu'l-Kilâb, "Father of dogs."

3. Plants and Parts of Plants.—Bizrah, "A seed"; Baṣal, "Onions"; Buṭm, "Terebinth"; Bânah, "Egyptian willow"; Baiḥân, "Narcissus"; *Tuffâḥah, "Apple"; Tanbak, "Persian tobacco"; Ḫizrân, "Cane" (Pers.); Ḫashabah, "Piece of wood"; Ḥamun, "Flowers"; Ḫarrûb, "Locust tree"; Raiḥân, "Myrtle"; *Rummânah, "Pomegranate"; Rôsa, "Rose" (European); Za'rûr, "Medlar"; Za'farân, "Saffron"; Za'tir, "Thyme"; Za'watîr, "Thyme" (dim.); *Zahrah, "Flower"; Zawânah, "A tare"; Zaitûn, "Olive tree"; Sarwah, "Cypress"; Sha'îr, "Barley"; 'Aḡâm, "Fruit-stone"; 'Adasah, "Lentil"; Ghuṣûn, "Branches"; Fûlah, "A bean"; Karawîya, "Caraway"; Kushsh, "Date pollen"; Kûsa,[2] "Vegetable marrow"; Karnabîṭ, "Cauliflower"; Karanfulah, "A pink"; Lûbiah, "Beans"; Abu'l-laimûn, "Lemons"; Na'na', "Mint"; Yâsamîn, "Jasmine."

4. Names Derived from Objects of Astronomy, Geology, Chemistry, &c.—Badr, "Full moon"; Badrain, "Two full moons"; El-Barḳ, "The lightning"; Buz, "Ice"; Thurayyah, "Pleiades"; Hilâl, "New moon"; Ḥurshûm, "Rocky mountain"; Marḡân, "Coral"; Zabad, "Foam"; Zaibaḳ, "Quicksilver"; Zuḥal, "Saturn"; Sulaimâni, "Corrosive sublimate"; Sharafah, "Solar, sunny"; Shahâb, "Shooting star"; 'Arînah, "Covert, thicket"; 'Ayyûk, "Capella" (star); Ḳuṭb, "Polestar"; *Kaukab, "Star"; Marmar, "Marble"; El-Maug, "The waves"; *Naǧmeh, "A star"; Nada, "Dew"; Ḥazîm, "Thunder"; Wâdi, "A valley."

5. Names Derived from Food.—Tharîdah, "Bread soaked in broth"; Thamâri, "A sweetmeat"; Abu Ġubn, "Father of cheese"; Dibs, "Grape or date honey"; Daryâk, "Treacle" (a native antidote); Zarka, "Leaven"; Sab'el-'aish, "Lion of food" (=bread); Sukkar, "Sugar"; Abu Ṭabîḫ, "Father of cooked food"; Abu 'Asal, "Father of honey"; 'Aish, "Bread" (or "life"); Ḳarmîsh, "A sweetmeat"; Abu maḳli, "Father of roast meat"; Kubbah,

[1] Also the cackling of a hen.

[2] Applied especially to a man with a beard from his chin only. Such a person is credited with being "cleverer than the devil."

"A native dish"[1]; Kusmât, "Twice-baked bread"; Mulabbas, "Sugar plum."

6. Names Derived from Money.—El-Riyâl, "The dollar"; Zahrâwi, "A six-piastre piece"; Mashhûs, "A gold coin"; Ghâzi, "A gold 20-piastre piece"; Lîra, "A pound."

7. Names Derived from Clothing, Weapons, and Ornaments.—Burnus, "A cloak with hood"; Haǧab, "An amulet"; Ḥamâr, "A woman's veil"; Ḥaish, "Coarse canvass"; Dawâyah, "Inkhorn" (worn in girdle); Saḥtyan, "Morocco leather shoe uppers"; Es-suwâr, "The bracelet"; Saif, "A sword"; Shabârî, "Daggers"; Shaḫshar, "Trousers" (Turkish); Abu Sharḫ, "Father of a battle axe"; Shintyân, "Wide trousers"; Sadafah, "Bit of mother of pearl"; Samâdah, "String of coins worn as ornament on woman's head-dress;" Taukain, "Two necklaces"[2]; 'Iṭâr, "Perfume"; 'Imâmah, "Turban"; Ḳutnah, "Piece of cotton"; Ḳurṭ, "Carriage"; Kamar, "Hair belt for money" (Pers.); Labâdah, "Piece of felt."

8. Names Derived from Buildings, Utensils, Musical Instruments, Furniture, &c.—Baṭîyah, "Wooden vessel in which dough is made"; Tanakah, "A tin"; Maḫbâṭ, "Beetle" (for washing); Ḥizâm, "Nose-ring" (of animal); Maḫaimar, "A small wine shop"; Abu Dikr, "Father of a door-bolt"; Rawḍah, "A luxuriant garden"; Mazbar, "A pen or pencil"; Zarb, "Cattle fold" (or oven for roasting an animal whole); Zikk, "A water-skin"; Sika, "A water-skin; Sakf el-Ḥaïṭ, "Top of the wall"; Sakîbah, "Metal poured into a mould"; Sullam, "A ladder"; Sanâǧik, "Banners"; Shabakah, "A net"; Sharbah, "A water jar"; Shikkah, "A chip"; Shammut, "Reel of cotton used in weaving"; Shûbak, "A rolling-pin"; Shîshah, "A nargili, water-pipe"; Ṣîr, "Pin on which a door hinges"; Ṭabailah, "A drum" (dim.); Ṭunbur, "A tambourine"; 'Atabah, "Lintel of a door"; 'Arîsh, "A booth, bower"; 'Ulbah, "A little box"; Abu Ghalyûn, "Father of a pipe"; Maḳḥâr, "Piece of wood used in opening an oven"; Ḳadûmi, "Relating to a hatchet"; Kanaiṭar, "An arch" (dim.); Kuttâb, "A school"; Maïdah, "A table."

9. Miscellaneous Unclassifiable Words.—Ba'rah, "Cattle excrement"; *Ḥafîzah, "A protector"; Ḥalâwi, "A bachelor"; Ḥavâl, "A ghost"; Dhikr, "Remembrance"; Rasmîyyah, "Officially"; Râghib, "A desirer"; Abu Zunt, "Father of a crowd"; Shaiḫ raṭl, "Sheikh of a rotl" (a weight about 5 lbs.); Ma'ana, "Meaning"; 'Ahd, "Covenant"; Farâsaḫ, "Leagues"; Fallah, "Camel-dung tinder"; Naṣar, "A helper"; Hawwar, "Chalky soil."

Class II: Names Derived from the Circumstances of Birth, or from the Sentiments Provoked by the Birth.—1. Date of Birth.—Ṣafar, "The second lunar month"; Raǧab, "The seventh lunar month"; Sha'ban,

[1] Wheat and meat pounded together.

[2] Name of a well-known family in Nablûs.

"The eighth lunar month"; Ramaḍân, "The ninth lunar month"; 'Ashûr, "The tenth day of Muḥarram" (the first lunar month); El 'Aîd, "The feast"; Thalǵah, "Snowy" (*i.e.*, born in time of snow); Rabi', "Spring."

2. Expressive of Primogeniture or other Circumstances of the like Nature.—Badah, "Beginning"; Bakr, "First-born"; 'Awadi "Return" (when the mother has left off bearing for some time before the birth of the child); 'Awaidi, ditto (dim.); Bakîr, "Early"; Ḳadam [el-ḥair], ["The good] is approaching."

3. Description of the Child as a Gift of God.—Ḥamdi, "Thanks"; Marzûḳ, "Bestowed as a fortune"; Ṣadaḳah, "An alms"; Shukr, "Thanks"; 'Aṭa, "A gift"; Hadiyyah, "A present."

4. Good Wishes to the Child, or Pleasure at the Birth.—Bashaïr, "Good news"; Abu'l Ḥaud, "Father of the guidance"; Marâi, "Regarded"; Râḍi ['anhu], "May God be gracious [to him]"; Abu Raḍwân, "Father of contentment"; Mar'i, "Regarded, observed"; Zaid, "Increase"; *Zaidah, "Increase"; Abu sa'd, "Father of good luck"; Mas'ûd, "Fortunate"; *'Aishah, "Living"; 'Ayûsh, "Living"; Ya'ish, "May he live"; *Fûzayah, "Victorious"; Ḳabâl, "Prosperity"; Aḳbâl, "Prosperity"; Maḳbûl, "Accepted"; Manṣûr, "Victor"; En-Naṣîrah, "The victory"; Manwah, "Desire"; *Wasîlah, "Favour, honour."

5. Words of Endearment, Names derived from Precious Objects, &c. — El-Ilfah, "The friend"; *Amirah, "Princess"; Ḥabîb, "Beloved"; Rafîk, "Companion"; *Rifḳah, "Companion"; Rayya, "Sweet smell"; *Ḥuríyah, "A houri"; *Ḫaznah, "A treasure"; Dhahabi, "Golden"; *Zumurrudah, "Emerald"; Zâmîl, "A comrade"; *Sîghah, "Gold jewellery"; 'Ambarah, "A piece of amber"; *Faḍḍah, "Silver"; *Faḍḍîyah, "Silvern"; *Ḳurrat [el-'Ain], "Darling [of the eye]"; *Lûlû, "Pearl"; *[Shahwat] en-Nufûs, "[Desire] of souls."

6. Names Expressive of Displeasure at the Child's Birth, and Desire that there be no more Children.—*Tamûmi, "Completion"; Tamnûs, "Darkness"; Ḥatûm, "Sealed"; Damâr, "Destruction"; *Zamiḳna, "We have plucked out our beard"; Samaḥna, "Our forgiveness"; Sabri, "My patience"; El 'Aib, "The shame"; Kafa "Enough."

7. Names Expressive of Relationship.—*Mutrûkah, "Left" (survivor of a family); *Hamati, "Mother-in-law"; *Dirrah, "Second wife" (during lifetime of first); 'Arîs, "Bridegroom"; *Kinnah, "Daughter-in-law."

LIST III.

NAMES OF JEWS AND JEWESSES IN DAMASCUS.

Class A: Theophorous Names.—'Abd Esh-Shalôm (half Heb.), "Slave of peace"; Abd El-'Afiah, "Slave of good health"; Abd Allah (used as an alternative for Obadiah, Heb.), "Slave of God."

Class B: (a) *Names denoting Consecration to inferior Beings or Religion;* (b) *Names derived from Religious Professions or Occupations.*—Shammâs, "Servant of a Synagogue or of a Rabbi" (among Christians = deacons); Kahin (Arabic), "Priest"; Cohen (Hebrew), "Priest": Rhazzan (Hebrew), "One who leads the prayers."

Class C: Names of Angels, Saints, and Heroes.—Men.—Ibrahîm, "Abraham"; Isḥaḳ, "Isaac"; Israïl, "Israel"; Aryîl, "Ariel"; Ashûr, "Ashur"; Eliahû; Elias, "Elijah"; Imrâd and Mûrad, "Mordacai"; Binyâmîn, "Benjamin"; Burro, "Abraham"; Gâbrah, "Gabriel"; Dânyâl, "Daniel"; Dâûd, "David"; Râûbîn, "Reuben"; Rafâîl, "Raphael"; Zakkai, (Neh. vii, 14); Selmân: Salîm, "Peace" (an Arabic name so common that it forms 10 per cent. of the total); Shabti, "Shabatai" (Heb.), a Biblical name, Neh. xi, 16; (applied now to one born on the Sabbath); Sulaimân, "Solomon"; Sahyûn, "Zion"; 'Azzâr or 'Ezra, "Ezra"; Philo; Mûsa, "Moses"; Harûn, "Aaron"; Hannen; Lâwi, "Levi"; Yâsîn, (a common Moslem name; title of a chapter in the Ḳur'ân); Yashû' "Joshua"; Ya'ḳûb, "Jacob"; Yahûda, "Judah"; Yûsif, "Joseph"; El-Yashar (Heb.), "The straight, righteous."

Women.—The commonest first name is Laila, which literally means night, but is considered as equivalent to Leah.[1] It is obtained apparently by first making a diminutive, like Lailay, and then altering into the familiar Arabic word for "night." Amîlia, "Emily"; Tîrah, "Esther"; Raḥîl "Rachel"; Rachlo, "Rachel" (dim.); Rifḳa, "Rebecca"; Sârah, "Sarah"; Surrayah, "Sarah" (dim.); Miriam; Mîro, "dim. of Miriam."

Class D: Descriptive Names.—1. Colours.—Aswad, "Black"; Bimbajji (Turk.), Pink; Ḥamrah, "Red"; Ḥuḍr, "Green" (used among Jews and Moslems as an equivalent of Elias, *i.e.*, Elijah. A boy who is called Ḥuḍr is addressed indifferently by that name or Elias, and *vice versâ*. Among Christians Ḥuḍr = St. George. *See* under the same class in the previous list); Ṣamrah, "Brownish"; 'Abâdî, "Very dark": Blanco (Span.), "White."

[1] In Jerusalem, however, Esther is the commonest name among the Spanish Jewesses, and such names as Reina, Regina, Malakah, all mean queen, and refer to this most highly honoured of Jewish queens.

2. Bodily Qualities.—(*a*) Excellencies or Neutral Qualities.—Bâhy, *Bahyah, "Beautiful"; *Ġamîlah, "Beautiful"; *Ḥasnah, "Beauteous"; *Zahîyah, "Beautiful"; Shabb, "Young man"; Shabîbô = Shabîbâh, "Youthfulness"; *Ṣafîyah, "Clear"; Ṭawîl, "Long, tall"; 'Âfîyah, "Health"; Fâhi, "Fair in complexion"; Kâmil, "Complete, perfect"; Kaltûm, "One very small made" (colloquial); Mash'ary or Mash'arâni, "Hairy, foul"; Nazîi, "Beautiful": Nakḳi, "Pure, clean." (*b*) Defects.—Aġradah, "Naked" (applied to a man specially who has no hair on his face; such a one brings ill luck as the proverb says, "Meet apes in the morning better than hairless ones"); Bôshi, "A poor man with a large family (mean man)"; Dardiyah, "Toothless" (coll.); Raḥmân, "One to be pitied"; Zâr, "To have only a few hairs"; Sim'a, "Something heard," one says "*Sem'atho mush taibeh*," as equivalent to saying he has a bad name; Shâkin, "Skin disease": 'Atîḳ or 'Atîkah, "Old" (an antiquity), (applied to a man whose dress is old and shabby); *'Argah, "Lame"; 'Amash, "Weak sighted"; Kafif, "Blind"; Mamrûḍ, "Diseased."

3. Mental Qualities.—*Anîsah, "Polite"; Bizbaz, "Active, strong"; Bussah, "A spark of fire"; Tambal (Tanbal), *Tambaleh (Turk.), "Lazy, stupid"; Ḥalû, *Helweh, "Sweet"; Rica (Span.), "Rich"; Ḥabîr, "Experienced"; Ḥaffîf, "Light, easy going": Dânâ (Pers.), "Learned," also "Wife"; Râïḳi, "Clever, limpid"; *Raḥmânah, "Merciful"; *Raḥmah, "Mercy"; Zakî, "Clever": Silis, "Docile"; Simḥa and Simḥayah, "Rejoicing" (the Ashkenazim of Jerusalem apply the former only to male children but the Sephardim to females); Salâmah, "Peace"; Shaḳâ, "Misery"; *Salḥah, "Virtuous"; 'Aḳil, "Clever"; *'Afîfah, "Chaste"; *Kuwayîsah, "Nice"; Labîl, *Labîbah, "Intelligent"; Mâḍi, "Sharp like a knife"; Muṣṭuḳ, "Trustworthy"; Muḳaddas, "Holy" (in Jerusalem Coptic pilgrims from Egypt are always called by this term); *Nabihah, "Intelligent."

4. Habits.—Barbûr, "Mucus" (applied, under the name form *Abu Barbûr*, to one whose nose is always dribbling); Ḥâmi, "Hot," *i.e.*, in temper; Rahwâni, "One who walks like an ambling horse"; Shattâḥ, "One accustomed to take an outing in the country"; Ṭashṭash, "Fizzing as when water is poured on fire"; Ṭeshi, "To hiss, also a drizzling rain"; Ṭauṭaḥ, "One who swings himself from side to side in his walk"; 'Âdah, "Custom"; Muḥfi, "Shoeless"; Nuṭṭâḥ, "One who hits with his head"; Hawwâsh, "One who excites discord."

5. Unclassifiable Descriptive Words.—Ḥubb, "Love"; Ḥabr, "News"; Râmi, "One who throws or shoots"; Surûr, "Pleasure"; Shukḥu, "His chip, notch"; Sâhib, "A friend, owner of a property"; Sawlah, "Power, rule"; Ṭâïfah, "A sect or party"; Minyan (Heb.), "Congregation"; Ṭayyârah, "Kite" (a toy); Faḳur, "Poor"; Ḳubûli, "My acceptance"; Kôbah, "Regret for something passed

away" (also means a cup); Muḥallah, "Made sweet"; Mulkahu, "His kingdom"; Nashkah, "A good smell"; Naẓirah, "Similar to, equal to"; Shimtov, "A good name" (Heb.).

Class E: Territorial Names.—Bedawi, "Bedawin"; Baghdâdi, "Of Baghdad"; Ḥârah, "A quarter or street" (of the city); Ḥasbâni, "From River Hasbaney"; "Ḥalabi, "Of Aleppo"; * Durzîyah, "A Durze woman" (either literally one who has become a Jewess, or, metaphorically, a term of reproach); Ashkanazy, "Russian Jew"; Stanbûli, "Of Constantinople"; Shâmi, "Of Syria or Damascus"; Ṣafadi, "Of Safed"; Ṣîdâwi, "Of Sidon"; 'Aǧami, "Of Persia"; 'Ain Tâbi, "Of 'Ain Tâb"; Fallah, "Peasant"; Ḳubursi, "Of Cyprus"; Kurdi, "Of Kurdistan"; Karaky, "Of Kerak"; Kubabîyâ, "Of Kubâb"; Lishôni, "Of Lisbon"; Mughrabi, "Of Algiers": Mûrali, "Of Greece"; Namsâwi, "Austrian"; Greco (Span.), "Greek"; Shiloah (Heb.), "Siloam"; France (Span.), "French or Spanish."

The following are doubtful:—Shûfân; Kriîm, "Of Crimea"; Ladâny, "Latin" (*i.e.*, Spanish).

Class F: Titles, Trades, and Occupations.—Al-'Azari (? Pers.), "An indolent man"; Tayyân, "A dealer in figs"; Tumbakgi (or Tumbaggi), "Tobacconist"; Thellâg, Thellash, "A seller of snow"; Daǧâǧâti, "One who sells or keeps fowls, a poulterer"; Gallâḅ, "One who sharpens knives" (usually wandering about in the streets with a grindstone); Ḥâris, "Watchman"; Ḥâshi, "One that fills up" (the man who stands in the centre and waves his sword in a Bedawin dance is so named); Ḥâwi, "Snake charmer"; Ḥaddâd, "Smith"; Ḥalywâni, "One who sells or makes sweets"; Ḥallâb, "Milkman"; Ḥallâḳ, "Barber"; Ḥabbâz, "Baker"; Halîfah, "Successor"; Ḥayyât, "Tailor"; Dabbâs, "Seller of *dibs* or treacle"; Dabbâk, "Bird-lime maker"; Dallâl, "Auctioneer"; Dayyân, "Moneylender"; Dhabbâḥ, "Slaughterer"; Râ'i, "Shepherd"; Râwi, "Narrator of news"; Ruzzi, "A rice-seller"; Ra'wah, "Goatherd"; Reina (Span.), "Queen": Regina (Span.), "Queen": Saïḳ, "Donkey-driver"; Sâ'âti, "Watchmaker"; Surûǧi, "Saddlemaker"; Saḳḳâl, "A polisher" (applied ordinarily to one who smooths down plaster on walls); Sinkâri, "Tinker"; Salḥâgi, "One who removes dung"; Shûbân (Persian), "Shepherd"; Ṣâïgh, "Goldsmith"; Ṣubbâgh, "Dyer"; ubbân, "Soap seller or maker"; Ṣarrâf, "Money-changer"; Sarmâtǧi, "Shoemaker"; Ṣûfâti, "One who works in wool"; Ṭaḥḥân, "Miller"; Tayyân, "One who mixes and carries mud for the mud roofs of the houses"; 'Abd, "Servant or slave"; 'Abd es-Samak, "Servant of the fish" (fishmonger or fisherman); 'Aṭṭâr, "Perfumer"; 'Allâfi, "One who feeds animals": Fâris, "Horseman": Kamaḥǧi, "Corn merchant"; Kibrîti, "Dealer in matches"; Kassâb, "A maker of embroidery"; Kinafǧi or Kanfagi, "Maker of kinâfah" (a species of native pastry); Kallâs, "Lime

burner or seller"; Laḥḥâm, "Butcher"; Mu'addeb, "One who makes ready" (an entertainment); Muḫallâlâty, "Maker of pickles" (the coarse pickles, made extensively from turnips, cucumbers, cauliflowers, and beetroot, and sold in the streets); Ma'mâri, "Master mason"; Malakah, "Queen"; Mawwâs, "Cutler"; Naǧǧâr, "Carpenter"; Nakḳâsh, "A stonecutter" (locally applied to one who roughens the surface of a millstone which has worn smooth); Nawwaḥ, "A professional mourner"; Nawwâs, "Jester"; Sinior (= Señor) (Span.), "Lord"; Siniora (= Señora), "Lady"; Bolisa (Span.), "Lady"; Boulangy (= Boulanger) (Fr.), "Baker"; Halfan (Heb.), "Money-changer."

Class G: Names Derived from Objects.—(*a*) Parts of Body.—Udhn, "Ear": 'Ayûn, "Eyes"; Shâkim (Pers.), "Belly."

(*b*) Animals and Parts of Animals.—Garâdah, "Locust"; Aṣlân, "Lion"; Ġahsh, "Donkey colt"; Ġamal, "Camel"; Ḥarazah, "Coral," also "Bead" (coll.); Ḥamâmah, "Dove or pigeon"; Hauli, "A little calf, or other such animal, a year old"; Dâîk, "Cockerel"; Dubbah, "Bear"; Dîk, "Cock"; Dubbânah, "Fly"; Dhîb, *Dhîbah, "Wolf"; Siryâdu or *Siriadeh, "Camel"; Salwî, "Quail"; Samakâh, "A little fish"; Shahîn, "Falcon"; Shibl, "Cubs"; Shibli, "Cub"; Ṣûṣ, "Little chicken"; Ḳabwât, "Intestines"; Kamawâs, "Intestines of a bird"; Kirkûr, "A lamb"; Kalab, "Hydrophobia"; Kalaib, "A little dog"; Liubârd (= Eng. Leopard), "Anything spotted black and white"; Liunârdô (= Ital. Leonardo), "Lion-hearted"; Nimûrah, "Leopard or Tiger."

(*c*) Plants and Parts of Plants.—Arazah, "Cedar"; Bizrah, "Seed"; Balaḥ, "Dates"; Tanûbah, "Pitch tree"; Garîdah, "A palm branch stripped of its leaves"; also "Squadron of horses" and "A register of taxes"; Ḥûrah, "Poplar tree"; Rummânah, "Pomegranate"; Zahr, "Flowers"; Zaitûn, Zeituneh, "Olive"; Sha'îr, "Barley"; 'Addas, "Lentils[1]"; Kash, Kasheh, "Straw"; Kaṭrân, "Tar" (applied usually to one who has a bad smell about him); Keraz, "Cherry"; Lauz, "Almonds"; Naḫlah, "Palm tree."

(*d*) Names derived from Geology, Chemistry, and Astronomy.—Aṭash (Turk.), "Fire"; Badriyah, "Beautiful like the moon" (also meaning "First born"); Turâb, "Earth" (meaning also "To be poor and miserable"); Ḥibr, "Ink"; Hadîd, "Iron"; Ḥufrah, "Ditch," "Grave"; Ratîfah, "One of the heated stones in a fellah's oven on which bread is laid for baking"; Zanâdah, "The piece of steel used to strike against a flint, making a spark"; Sahl, "Plain" (also meaning "Simple"); Sabûn, "Soap"; Saḫrah, "Rock"; Ṭâsah, "Metal cup"; Vapûr, "Engine"; Karkûr, "A black volcanic rock common in Damascus"; Nigm, "Star"; Nada, Bellah,

[1] Names of foods applied to persons are often nicknames referring to their fondness for the food specified.

"Dew," (also "Wetted"); Nissîm, "Breeze"; Ben Labez (? = Ben Lapis (Sp.), "Son of a stone."

(*e*) Names Derived from Food.—Ḥaker, "Mixed butter and honey given to a small child" (perhaps reference to Isa. vii, 15); Shûraḇah, "Soup"; Aish, "Bread"; Kishk, "Dried laban," *i.e.*, sour milk like cheese.

(*f*) Names Derived from Money.—Binto (Egypt. Arab.), "A pound in gold"; Feddah; Fedda, "Silver."

(*g*) Clothing, Weapons, and Ornaments.—Sâltah, "A kind of woman's jacket"; Surwâl, "Trousers" (Bedawins often call a man wearing trousers Abu Surwal); Sharâshif, "Sheets"; Ṭobâbo (= Tobabeh), "Leather bootlace."

(*h*) Building Materials, Musical Instruments, Furniture, &c.—Halus, "Pack saddle," "Carpet"; Daḥraǧ, "A stone that rolls"—hence one with a short, rounded figure"; Ṭabl, "Drum"—hence empty, foolish; 'Amûd, "Column"—applied to one who is tall and straight; Muzrâb, "Water-pipe" (in Damascus particularly the pipes that overhang the streets and discharge water from the roofs); Naïeh, "Double-reed flute" (the flute of Daniel iii, 7, in the Arabic translation.)

(*i*) Miscellaneous Unclassifiable Words.[1]—Abâby; El Bodig;[2] Bahwâs; An'adib; Ġâsha; Dandûf; Dangur; Ṣawâleh (dim. of Sulh, a little piece); Fiana; Gabishon;[3] Kâkim; Kusto; Kaslîka; Makîno; Mandûn; Mîta (Heb.); Naṣṣârib.

Class II: Names Derived from Circumstances of Birth.—(*a*) Date of Birth.—Rabi', "Spring season"; Shaḳîḳah, "Tenderness, or born at twilight"; Ṣubḥiyah, "Morning" (one born early morning); 'Aidah, "Born during a feast"; Mughârib, "Evening, sunset," (possibly time of birth; or may be short for Mughraby, *i.e.*, Westward North African); Halâl, "New moon" (time of birth); Ḥamesha (Heb.), "The fifth."

(*b*) Expressive of Primogeniture, or Circumstances of the like nature.—Aftaḥa, Fâtaḥah, "Firstborn"; Badrîyah, "Early, first-born" (also means having the shape of the moon—beautiful); Bikri and Bechor or Bechora (fem.), "Firstborn."

(*c*) Description of the Child as given from God.—Ishḥâdah; Shahâdah, "Begged from God"; Ġubrân, "Mended," *e.g.*, for a child replacing one who died; Dâdâni (Persian), "Gift"; 'Aṭîyyah, "A gift" (applied especially to a boy who arrives after long waiting).

(*d*) Good Wishes to the Child or Pleasure at the Birth.—Bâḳi, "The remainder, abiding"; Barakah, "Blessing"; Sa'id, *Sa'îdah "Happy, fortunate"; Simuntar, "A good sign"; Ṣabri, "My

[1] Some of these have, no doubt, been incorrectly transcribed, and for that reason cannot be now identified.

[2] Perhaps connected with Spanish—el botiga, "the shop."

[3] The name of a large and important family in Palestine.

patience" (possibly a child born after long waiting or prolonged labour); 'Awazah, "Need"; Fattah, "Opening victory"; Ġamhûr, "Multitude," but very probably from a place near Damascus; Farag, "Relieved from trouble"; Farîwah, "A happy child"; Marḥabah, "Welcome"; Nâṣri, "My helper"; Naṣr, "Guarded victory"; Sasson (Heb.), "Happiness"; Hephas (Heb.), "Guarded"; Cheim (Heb.), Vida (Span.); Yaḥyah (among Moslems equivalent to Yohannah); Aish and Aisheh, all meaning life or living.

(*e*) Words of Endearment; Names Derived from Precious Objects.—*Habôbeh "Beloved"; Habîb (mas.), "Beloved"; Rafik, "Partner"; *'Azîzah, "Beloved, dear"; *Ghâliyah, "Expensive, precious"; Faḥri, "My pride"; *Farîdah, "Unequalled"; Nûry, "My light" (or more probably gipsy); *Lûlû, "Pearl"; *Mircady from Mircado (Span.), meaning "Bought" (*i.e.*, a child bought by prayer); Amado (Span.), "Beloved"; *Diddîya (Heb.), "Darling."

(*f*) Names Expressive of Displeasure at the Child's Birth.—*Ḥasîbah, "Sufficient"; *Ḥâlûna, "Our emptiness"; Shaba', "Enough" (enough children); Kusur, "Broken fracture"; *Makto', "Cut off, forsaken"; *Mazal (Span.), "Chance" (probably referring to the bad luck of getting a girl).

(*g*) Names Expressive of Relationship.—*Imm Zakkai, "Mother of Zaki" (a family name); Ba'li, "My husband"; "Giddi, "Grandfather"; Yabo, Ya Abu (lit.), "Oh! father" (the man we know with this name was so called because he habitually uses it in addressing people).

It is noteworthy that comparatively few of the names in the above list are genuinely Hebrew, most of them being Asiatic, Spanish, or whatever the modern tongue of the bearer may be. We could easily add many names from other sources to each of the sections into which the above lists have been classified. We thought it better, however, to confine ourselves to a complete analysis of the sources at our disposal, as these were sufficiently extensive to illustrate all the common types, and the relative frequency of the several classes.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

By the late Dr. Conrad Schick.

Since Robinson's work on Palestine, the traditions relating to sites have received comparatively little attention at the hands of scholars, who have too often considered them to be merely the sayings of later monks. From time to time, when studying a locality in the light of its history carefully and minutely, I have, however, often

reached the conclusion that the traditions are, after all, often entirely correct. This was the case whilst investigating the old question of the birthplace of St. John the Baptist, and I beg, accordingly, to present my evidence in the following pages.

I.

For about 180 years Juttah, a village a few hours south of Hebron, has been considered to be the native town of John the Baptist, whereas tradition has placed it at 'Ain Kârim, a village one and a half hours west of Jerusalem, where there is a Convent St. John and a remarkable ruin called Mar Zacharias. Which is the true site?

Zacharias, the father of John, was a priest of the order of Abijah (Luke i, 5). In the Temple of Jerusalem the birth of a son was announced to him, and the child was born in the priest's home. In what place was his home?

Now, in Luke i, 39, it is said: "And Mary arose in these days, and went into the hill country with haste into a city of Judah, and entered into the house of Zacharias and saluted Elizabeth." Reland, the pioneer of the modern geography of the Holy Land, put forward as his opinion (about 180 years ago) that Juttah might be the city of Judah, regarding it as a proper name.[1] Juttah is mentioned in Joshua xv, 55, as a city of the tribe of Judah, but afterwards allotted to the priests (Joshua xxi, 13–16). The conjecture of Reland was adopted by many others. Even Robinson, the hero of later geographical study, says, in his *Palestine* (iii, p. 193), that there is no ground to doubt the soundness of Reland's opinion; and his authority was followed by nearly all subsequent writers, who rejected the tradition which locates the home of Zacharias at 'Ain Kârim. But this view is untenable for several reasons:—

1. The name does not fully agree. The dentals in Juttah and Judah could scarcely be confused. Nor can we suppose that the hard *t* became softened to *d* in course of time, since the *t* in the form is still preserved. V. Stark (*Palestine and Syria*, Berlin, 1894, p. 96) says: "One cannot imagine that the copyists (or the Evangelist) wrote a T instead of Δ.

2. After the Captivity of the Jews, Juttah was no longer a priestly city, but Idumæan. A large proportion of the Israelites

[1] Blaikie, *Bible History*, p. 354 (London, 1873).

was brought by Nebuchadnezzar into Chaldea (2 Chron. xxxvi, 17–21), and the bulk of the people went with Jeremiah to Egypt (Jer. xliii, 1–8), and the country became empty and nearly void of inhabitants, as Isaiah had predicted (xxiv, 1–4). After the Captivity, we learn that the returned Jews settled not only in Jerusalem, but also in their former cities (as far as they were not already inhabited by Idumæans). From Neh. xi, 20, and vii, 73 it is clear that they reoccupied not only Jerusalem, but also the country places. In Neh. ii, 30 we read: "They dwelt from Beersheba unto the valley of Hinnom." Juttah is located within this district, and it might be thought that it was repeopled by priests again; but this was not the case, for among all the cities in which the Jews settled Juttah is not mentioned. Those priests who were not able to settle in their former cities had to find other places, and doubtless selected sites nearer to Jerusalem, where there were no Idumæans. They would naturally prefer to live amongst their own people than with strangers, and so the ancestors of Zacharias might very well have settled in 'Ain Kârim with the consent of the leaders in Jerusalem.

3. That the greater part of the priests were settled near Jerusalem we perceive from Neh. xii, 27, where it is said, "And at the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem they sought the Levites out of all their places, to bring them to Jerusalem, to keep the dedication with gladness." The priests were near at hand, and so perhaps the ancestors of Zacharias dwelt in 'Ain Kârim, certainly not in Juttah. But the question may be asked, why not at some other city—for instance, at Hebron?

4. Now Jerusalem is called, in 2 Chron. 25, 28, "City of Judah," and so it has even been supposed that Mary saluted Elizabeth in *Jerusalem*. But this cannot be, for here it is only said that Amaziah was buried in that part of Jerusalem situated in the territory of Judah. Priests had certainly not lived near tombs. Further, as Bethlehem so often bears the additional name Judah (Ruth i, 1, 2, Judges xvii, 7, 9, xix, 1, 2, and 1 Samuel xvii, 12), so Bethlehem might be meant. But Bethlehem was not a city of priests, and hence cannot be considered. Others, again, have thought of Hebron, which had been originally a priestly city, and remained so after the Captivity. So Sepp, who, however, has no valid reasons to support his view. His references to Rabbinical views are weak, and it is noteworthy that although there are to-day many

ancient sites in Hebron itself, none are called after St. John, or Zacharias, or Elizabeth.

5. When the Jews had become more powerful, Hyrcanus conquered the whole land of Idumæa, and forced them either to be circumcised or to leave the country. But where could they go? So they yielded to become outwardly Jews, but inwardly they were their enemies! The Roman governor Gobinus confirmed Hyrcanus in his rule, and the country became divided in five parts, each with a high court. But Idumæa was ruled separately, and Herod (the Great), by birth half an Idumæan, when king of the Jews, made his brother-in-law, Kostobarus, a real Idumæan, ruler of the whole of Idumæa, including Gaza. As the Idumæans hated the Jews, Jewish priests would scarcely find a tolerable life in Idumæa, and one may conclude that Hebron would be the last place for Jewish priests to reside in, much less Juttah, and so Zacharias, not only a priest, but a pious Jew, like his wife, would probably live nearer to Jerusalem.

6. So important a place as the home of St. John the Baptist and his pious parents, the scene of those solemn psalms[1] of the New Testament, would always have been esteemed and kept in memory by tradition. Surely, we may suppose, something—a place of prayer, a church, &c.—was erected by Jews or by Christians to mark the site with which the Saint's name would always be associated. But we find no tradition either in Hebron or in Juttah, but only at 'Ain Kârim. Robinson describes Juttah as a large modern Mohammedan village on a low eminence, with trees round about, but he mentions no mosque, church, ruin, &c. Indeed, neither the present condition of Juttah nor tradition (before Reland), nor even the name nor its history bears witness to its having been the birthplace of John the Baptist, and in these circumstances it remains to consider the arguments in favour of locating it at 'Ain Kârim.

II.

According to tradition 'Ain Kârim, a village one and a-half hours' walk west of Jerusalem, was the home of Zacharias and Elizabeth. It is fully described in the *Memoirs*, and I would only add the following remarks:—

[1] Luke, i, 46–55, and i, 68–79.

1. 'Ain Kârim is an ancient site, and takes its name from the many vineyards in the neighbourhood. It is not mentioned in our Bibles among the cities conquered by Joshua (Josh. xv, 21–63), but it appears in the Septuagint with eight other cities—all of them in this district. It was allotted to the tribe of Judah, and as Ain appears as a city of Judah allotted afterwards to the priests, Liévin de Hamme (*Guide to the Holy Places*, Ghent, 1875, p. 252) regards 'Ain Kârim as the ancient Ain, a sacerdotal village of the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv, 32; xxi, 9–16). But this 'Ain was apparently situated in the south of the country, and is always connected with Rimmon, so that this supposition cannot be correct. What we know is that after the Captivity and the Return of the Jews from Babylon the children of Ḥârîm are mentioned in Nehemiah vii, 35, and the question arises: May this refer to Kârim? Personally I doubt it. We may feel sure that 'Ain Kârim became repopulated by Jews and probably by priests, as they were obliged to look for new places on account of the Idumæans. There was a natural preference for Jewish territory near to Jerusalem, where there were no Edomites.

2. There is near to the present village 'Ain Kârim a church and convent, dating back before Crusading times, and about 10 minutes distance on the hillside beyond the ravine and its copious spring is a remarkable ruin, bearing the name *Mar Zacharias*, the country house of this priest, as tradition tells us, where Mary saluted Elizabeth, and where the latter hid herself with her son from the soldiers of Herod when they were sent to kill the children. Having, therefore, two clues I am of opinion that the tradition is correct, for if at any later time the site was created on the strength of later theories, only *one* place would have been established as the "house of Zacharias" mentioned by the Gospel,[1] and not two places. Sepp calls it a "riddle." This riddle existed already in Crusading times. The Abbot Daniel (1106 A.D.) speaks of two different places, and all subsequent pilgrims follow him. Concerning the ruin of *Mar Zacharias*, Tobler (*Topog.* 1862, II, p. 355) remarks that the view of this remarkable ruin causes in the mind of the Christian painful feelings. The place, he says, is surrounded by a wall, and the chief building was 24 metres long and 15 wide; the walls are very thick, and some vaultings and arches are very strong, so that they might have stood more than 1,500 years.

[1] Luke, i, 40.

According to Tobler they were built between Constantine and Chosroes II. The place is now cleared of débris, the lower church has been restored, and a bell tower and a convent built over it. As with so many churches in this country the building of this also was ascribed to Helena. In 'Ain Kârim we have, therefore, old remains just as one is led to expect, and in addition to this the names of St. John and Zacharias, together with the tradition, have been carefully preserved.

3. But in regard to the *name* it has been contended that there were other places bearing the name of Zacharias, so that one is entitled to ask which of them is really the authentic site. As far as I know there is one near the plain,[1] and another near the old Hebron road, three hours south of 'Ain Kârim, but not a house remains. It is a ruined and desolated city on the top of a hill, and is called Bêt Iskaria, which may mean House of Zacharias; it is mentioned in 1 Macc. vi. 32. I have visited the place and found no feature or name which one would expect to find had it really been the true site of John the Baptist's home. In this country it often happens that several villages bear the same name.

4. From Luke i. 39, we learn that the house of Zacharias was in the "hill country," hence some special district is meant. In Jer. xxxi. 15 and Matt. ii. 18 this hill country is mentioned under the name *Ramah*, "height," and means the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. Josephus in *Bell. Jud.* iii. 3, tells us that in his time the land of Judea was divided into 11 toparchies, Idumæa included, and gives us their names. Pliny, a few years later, gives 10 toparchies, but without Idumæa. Comparing the two lists we find that the latter gives *Orine*, for which Josephus has Engedi, but Engedi being an isolated place on the shore of the Dead Sea, could never have been a toparchy, and must have been included in Herodion. It seems to me, therefore, that Josephus, knowing that Engedi had celebrated vineyards and an 'Ain, or spring, and 'Ain Kârim, meaning the "vineyard spring," made some error, and wrote down 'Ain-gedi (Engedi) instead of 'Ain Kârim. To this view I was brought when reading the pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel (A.D. 1106), where he says that it is four versts from the monastery (the Convent of the Cross) to the house of Zacharias, which is situated at the foot of a mountain west of Jerusalem; in this house John the forerunner was born. He states that a church

[1] See *Memoir*, p. 27 (24).

now occupies this place, and half a verst thence, on the other side of a valley full of trees, is the mountain towards which Elizabeth ran with her son, and the mountain opened for an asylum. The place of this event was to be seen in the rock in his day. A small church is built there, and a spring of flowing water opens out hard by. The mountain lies west of Jerusalem, high, and covered with forests, and surrounded by numerous valleys, and its name, he observes, is called *Orine*, *i.e.*, "hill country." From this we may see that this part of the environs of Jerusalem was always, and at all times, called the "hill country." We see, further, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, 'Ain Kârim was the chief place of this district, or the *Orine* toparchy, and was then, most probably, a priestly city. Even the Crusaders kept up the custom, and called this district the "hill country," viz., *Montana*. Baldwin gave the village of Bethafafa, about three-quarters of an hour south-west of Jerusalem, to the Knights of St. John. This village was situated in *Montana*, the ancient *Orine*. This concurrence of tradition regarding St. John and the home of Zacharias places its accuracy almost beyond all doubt.

5. The tradition placing the birthplace of John the Baptist at 'Ain Kârim goes back to the early Christian time without interruption. Eusebius and Jerome are, however, silent on this matter. Sepp (I, p. 652), says that Antonine (about 600 A.D.) mentions a fine church called Zacharias in the neighbourhood of Philip's Spring. Of Abbot Daniel I have already spoken. Eugesippus (A.D. 1140) also mentions this place, and places it four miles from Jerusalem and six from Bethlehem. Theodorich (A.D. 1172), after having described the Convent of the Cross, proceeds to state: "From here one comes to the place of St. John, in the wood (or forest) where Zacharias and Elizabeth the parents of John lived." These mountains were called *Belmont*, also (as already stated) *Montana*, thus keeping up the old idea throughout. From Brocardus in 1280 to Maundeville in 1697 the place is mentioned by several writers. Even the modern Russian name appears to me to preserve the ancient designation *Orine*.

6. The desert of St. John. About half an hour west of 'Ain Kârim, on the southern side of the large valley Surâr, opposite the village Ṣâṭâf, is a cave in a rocky cliff, partly artificial, and below it a little spring called Habis. In the *Name Lists* (p. 295) it is explained *Habs*, "prison," or (and this is better) "religious

endowment" (*i.e.*, cell). Tradition makes it to be the place where John was living, meditating, and preaching in the desert. Above the cliff are the ruins of some buildings and of a little church. This indicates that the tradition is an old one. But people rightly ask, How can this be the wilderness in which St. John preached and baptised, as the site is no wilderness, but a very green and well-cultivated place? Sepp, for example, even calls the building a temple, and cannot imagine that pious Christians would so put aside all common sense as to locate the wilderness of the preacher here. But in Luke i, 80 we read: "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel." Here it is only said that as John grew up he did not mix with people, but preferred to be in solitude, studying and meditating, till he took up his call. It is, therefore, by no means improbable that he came here, living for days in the wood and in the cave. In the Bible the word "desert" does not always mean a wilderness in the full sense of the word. Thus, according to Matt. xiv, 13, 15, Mark vi, 31–36, Luke ix, 10–12, Christ fed the five thousand in a desert not far from Bethsaida: but, as John (vi, 10) says, there was much grass there.

7. In early days men filled with the spirit of reverence went for longer or shorter periods into a wilderness. Josephus says in his biography (ii, 1) that he being a son of a priest (like John) had a great desire for learning, and studied the three sects of the Jews (Pharisees, Saducees, and Essenes). Having heard of an eminent man living in the wilderness, clothed with a coat made of the bark of trees, and eating plants growing in the desert, and bathing in cold water, he went to him as his pupil, in order to study at his feet. So he was with him three years, and at the age of nineteen he went back to Jerusalem. It is not impossible that many men followed the example of John and Josephus from time to time. We do not know John's age when he went into the wilderness, but we may with good reason suggest he was over twenty. He went, apparently, to the wilderness of Judah (Joshua xv, 61, Judges i, 16), the western steep descent to the Dead Sea, with its numerous rocky and dry gorges and valleys. Those who advocate the view that Juttah was his birthplace think of that part of the wilderness east of Juttah; but as John was not only preaching, but also baptising, and hence was called "John the Baptist," he must have selected a part of the wilderness where there was water. Such a place is only

found in the Wâdy el-Kelt, possibly ancient Cherith, where also Elijah (the forerunner of John) lived for a time. Even when Jesus was led by the Spirit into the wilderness, tradition locates it in the same region. How long John stayed here we do not know, but it may have been several years. The reason that he left this place, it can only be suggested, was either that the brook became dry, or that the rulers in Jerusalem, whom he had pronounced to be a "generation of vipers," were about to take measures to stop his preaching. He went then to the other side of the Jordan, which was not under the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrin, but under King Herod Archelaus, who "liked him and heard him gladly" (Mark vi, 20). At Bethabara (John i, 28), or at the ford of the Jordan, very many people passed there, so he could proclaim his message to many.

8. *Résumé* and conclusion. From the above paragraphs it will, I think, be clear that neither Jerusalem, nor Bethlehem, nor Hebron can be the city of Judah in which John the Baptist was born; moreover it cannot be Juttah, since neither its name nor its history lend any support. On the other hand, in 'Ain Kârim we have the support of the name, the tradition, the history, and the locality, viz., in the mountain or hill country. Hence in these circumstances there can be little question that the required site can only be 'Ain Kârim.

NOTES ON BIBLE GEOGRAPHY.

By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

(*Continued from "Quarterly Statement," 1904, p. 388.*)

II.—Zaretan.

This site, which seems to have given great difficulty to the later Hebrews and to the Greek translators, is important in connection with the question of the stoppage of the Jordan on the occasion of the first entry of the Hebrews, under Joshua, into Western Palestine. It is generally allowed that the passage must have occurred on the line between Shittim (*Ghôr es Seisabân*), and Gilgal (*Jiljûlieh*), opposite Jericho, and thus near the present ford called *Makhadet Hajlah*, from the town Beth Hoglah (near *'Ain Hajlah*), or otherwise *El Mishr'ah* (or *El Mashr'ah*), which appears to mean

"the watering place." But as to the point of obstruction of the river itself, it is described as "very far off, by Adam the city that is beside Zaretan," and Adam is generally placed at *Ed Dâmieh*, about 20 miles further up the river, measuring from the ford. This, as has been before noticed in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, was also the place where an actual obstruction of the river is stated by an Arab writer to have occurred in the thirteenth century A.D. Zaretan, therefore, is to be sought in this vicinity. Whether the city Adam was the same as Admah (Gen. xiv, 2) may be doubtful, but both were in the *Ciccar* or Jordan Valley.[1] The name Zaretan does not occur in the Vatican MS. of the Septuagint, where, however, the reading is very evidently corrupt and impossible.

Zartanah (1 Kings iv, 12) seems to be the same place as Zaretan (LXX reads Σεσαθὰν), and is noticed in connection with one of Solomon's provinces, roughly coinciding with the tribal lot of Issachar. Baana ruled in "Taanach and Megiddo, and all Beth Shean, what is near Zartanah, below Jezreel, from Bethshean to Abel Meholah (*'Ain Ḥelweh*), as far as the ford of Jokneam" (*Tell Ḳeimûn*)—the latter being at the foot of Carmel. Again, we find Zarthan (1 Kings vii, 46) noticed in connection with the "clay ground (LXX, πάχει τῆς γῆς) between Succoth and Zarthan"; or, as we might read, "the fat soil of the red land," or even "the fat soil of Adamah." The site of Succoth is usually placed at *Tell Deràla* (following the Talmudic identification), east of Jordan, and just north of the Jabbok River, and therefore not far from *Ed Dâmieh*. This again places Zarthan just where Zaretan is to be sought. The LXX reads Σειρά in this passage.

[1] The cities of the plain (*Ciccar*) are usually sought near the Dead Sea. It is, however, remarkable that near the Dâmieh we find several names suggesting a connection, such as *Talat 'Amrah*, "Ascent of Gomorrah," south of Ḳurn Surṭubeh; *Wâdy Saddeh* (answering radically to the Valley of Siddim); and *Wâdy el-Ḥumr*, "the valley of bitumen" (*cf.* "slime pits," Gen. xiv, 10). Moreover, we have an ancient Salem in the hills immediately to the west, and Salem seems to have been near Sodom (Gen. xiv, 17, 18, 21). The only objection to putting the cities of the plain so far north seems to be found in Gen. xix, 28, as Abraham "looked towards Sodom and Gomorrah" from Hebron. The great battle (Gen. xiv, 10) might have occurred near Admah, as the kings "went out" (8), but Sodom itself should lie somewhat further south, and near Jordan, on account of distance from Zoar (*Tell Shâghûr*) (*see* Gen. xix, 15–23). It should be noticed in this connection that the sun must be high before it lights the Jordan Valley and Zoar.

In the corresponding passage in Chronicles (2 Chron. iv, 17) the casting of the Temple vessels is said in like manner to have occurred in the *Ghôr* or Jordan Valley, in the clay lands (or fat lands of Adamah), between Succoth and Zeredathah (LXX Σαρηδαθά); so that either we have a copyist's error for Zarthan (which name is the better established, as occurring in three passages), or the *dath* of the later Hebrew stands for *danath*, and Zardanah for Zartanah.

In the first place we must distinguish this site from two others, with which it has sometimes been confused. One of them is Zereda, the home of Jeroboam, which was in Mount Ephraim (1 Kings xi, 26). It seems likely to have been the present *Surdah*, south-west of Gophnah. The Septuagint (Vatican text) gives Σαρεί, not only in this passage but also in the additional passage, after verse 24, which is not found in the Hebrew. If Sarira were the true reading we might think of the ruin of *Surra*, just east of Shiloh, as being in Mount Ephraim; but this can hardly be the proper position for Zaretan. The village of *Surra*, west of Shechem, is not in the lot of Ephraim, and appears inadmissible for either of the ancient sites. The second site to be distinguished is Zererath (Judges vii, 22), where we read of the flight of the Midianites down the valley of Jezreel, "as far as Beth-shittah (*Shaṭṭah*), towards Zererath, as far as the lip (or terrace) of Abel Meholah." This place is therefore too far north, as Abel Meholah appears to have been at *'Ain Ḥelweh*. The name Zererath appears to mean "pebbles" or "loose stones" (Arabic *Ṣurâr*). Close to *'Ain Ḥelweh* is the ford called *esh-Sherâr* ("the rapids?"), and though it is not very likely that the Hebrew letter *Tsade* would be replaced by the Arabic *Shin*, yet it is not impossible that Zererath and Sherâr may be connected, since the Jordan near here is full of stones at the rapids. Abel Meholah is noticed yet again as the home of Elisha (1 Kings xix, 16) who, on his journeys to Carmel, used thus naturally to pass Shunem (1 Kings iv, 8), near which was his house at Ophel ("the tower," 1 Kings v, 24), probably the present *'Afûleh*.

To return to Zaretan: the name, it may be noted, does not appear to be translateable in Hebrew, and this may be the reason why it seems to have puzzled scribes and translators. The Assyrian language may perhaps throw light on the word (צרתן), and so help the identification. In Assyrian *tanu* has the meaning of "great" or "strong," being directly borrowed from the Akkadian *tan*, or *dan*,

which has that meaning, and which compares with the Turkish root *ton*, meaning "thick." This word occurs even in the Bible, Tartan (2 King xviii, 17; Isaiah xx, 1) being the Assyrian *tar-tanu*, derived from the Akkadian *tar-dan*, or "great chief," and being, as is well known, a military title. If we supposed, therefore, the first element (צר) to come from the root צור (as in the case of the word צר, Exod. iv, 25; Ezek. iii, 9), the meaning would be a "sharp point" or "peak," and Zarthan or Zaretan would mean "the great peak." It may be noted, in passing, that even the name of the Jordan may have a similar derivation, as meaning the "great river" (not, as usually explained, "the descender").[1]

There is one "great peak" which forms the most conspicuous feature of Jordan Valley scenery, namely, the *Kurn Surtubeh*, which rises immediately west of *Ed Dâmieh*, on a spur projecting into the valley from the Samaritan mountains. We know that the name *Surtubeh* is ancient, since the place is mentioned in the Mishnah (*see* Neubauer's *Geography of the Talmud*) as a beacon station near the border of Samaria. It is even possible that the beds of ashes which I found, in 1874, at the monument on this peak are the remains of the beacon fires which the Jews used here to light at the new moon. The word might be rendered "goodly peak," and thus answer to the older name Zarthan, "the great peak." The position is so appropriate that is has long been supposed that Zaretan is to be identified with this "horn of *Surtubeh*." The place of stoppage of the River Jordan is thus apparently to be found about 20 miles north of the place of passage where Israel crossed the river, and is described as "very far off, by Adam the city that is beside Zaretan."

III.—The Battle of Gibeon.

The topography of this episode has been discussed of late by two writers, namely, by Mr. J. Harvey (in the *Churchman*, November and December, 1903), and by Mr. E. W. Maunder, the astronomer (in the *Sunday at Home*, February, 1904); and both these papers have been kindly sent to me by the authors. It is not proposed here to discuss in detail what is meant (Josh. x, 12–13) by the expression that the sun was "dumb." The word (דום) is applied to inanimate objects (Hab. ii, 19), and the Rabbis even

[1] In Gen. i, 10, 11, the name *Yor-dan* appears to apply to a branch of the Nile ("the great river"), as the Jordan cannot be intended.

divided nature into three classes—animal, vegetable, and dumb (including stones and metals). (*See* Kimchi, quoted by Buxtorf, on Jer. x, 8.) The term applies to places in the desert, such as Dumah, and I believe in Arabic it also means "dark," like the Assyrian *dumu*, so that we might read the couplet from the *Book of Yashar*:—

"Sun be dark by Gibeon.
And moon by Vale of Aialon."

On the other hand the second word used in the passage (יעמד), and rendered "stayed" (verse 13), and again "stood still," appears to have no other meaning than "to remain" or "be stationed."

It is usually assumed that Joshua was standing, when he spoke, between Gibeon and Ajalon, near Bethhoron, and that he was able to see both the two places named in the couplet. It is not very certain where the name "Vale of Ajalon" should be supposed to apply. There is a broad valley east of the village (of *Yalô*) which drains north to the main valley (*Wâdy Selmân*), which Mr. Maunder supposes to be the Vale of Ajalon. But the important point to note is that nowhere between Ajalon and Gibeon were both places visible. The country rises west of the latter town (along the "going up to Beth-horon," verse 10), and Ajalon is 2,000 feet below Gibeon. We are not told where Joshua was standing, but the episode comes after the account of pursuit to Makkedah (Josh. x, 10). Mr. Maunder points out that, for the sun to be rising at about 17° S. of east, and the moon (near the full) setting at 17° N. of west, as indicated by the position of Gibeon and Wâdy Selmân, it is necessary to suppose that the time was the autumn. This he regards as too late in the year of Conquest; but the time spent at Gilgal, Ai, Shechem, &c., by Israel is not defined; and it is notable that a hailstorm (verse 11) would more naturally occur in autumn than in summer. It is clear from the narrative that the battle occurred later than the spring, since Israel only crossed Jordan at the time of the Passover.

Both these writers come to the conclusion (independently) that the event recorded was the obscuring of the great lights by the hailstorm. As regards the difficulty that arises from notice of a return to Gilgal (Josh. x, 15) it is remarkable that this verse does not occur in the Septuagint at all.

It may be remarked also that Gibeon, Ajalon, and Makkedah are almost exactly in the same latitude.

As regards Makkedah, which Sir C. Warren places at *El Mughâr* ("the caves"), I believe that this city is the *Makida* of the Amarna letters, which is usually supposed to be Megiddo. The name of Megiddo occurs once in these tablets, and is otherwise spelt. The topography of the letters (as I have attempted to show) becomes clear if *Makida* be placed at Makkedah; and, as regards the form of the name, it is worthy of notice that the Greek gives Μακηδὰ.

IV.

Sinim (Isaiah xlix, 12). This land is popularly regarded as being China, which seems highly improbable as being outside the usual limits of Bible geography. The ancient Akkadian name of Elam was *SI-NIM*, "the high land," and the meaning of the term was equivalent to the Semitic Elam, or "high land." Apparently the Greek translators knew this identification, for they render the words ἐκ γῆς Περσῶν—"from the land of the Persians."

V.

Sephar (Gen. x, 30), a "mountain of the east," and the boundary of the south branch of the Semitic race, appears to be unknown. The recent discoveries at Susa (Shushan, east of the Tigris) are held to prove the presence of the Semitic race in Western Elam at a very early period; and on one of the bricks found at Susa a place in Elam is noticed called *SI-PAR*, which may indicate that the mountain (or mountain chain) of Sephar was that which bounds the Valley of the Tigris on the east near the mouth of the river.

NOTE ON THE GEZER TABLET.

By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

I am obliged to the Rev. C. H. W. Johns (to whom we owe an excellent rendering of 'Ammurapi's laws) for his comments. I have only two remarks to make:—(1) That because the eponym was known in Assyria it does not follow that he would be known in Gezer; (2) That, though there is authority for reading *AL* for *TU*, this has no importance. The sign still remains the causation of Accadian verbs, whichever sound be adopted, as is clear from Lenormant's *Etudes*; as to *Nadu* and *Nathan*, the roots may be distinct, but the meaning is the same.

CENTURIAL INSCRIPTIONS ON THE SYPHON OF THE HIGH-LEVEL AQUEDUCT AT JERUSALEM.

By Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., &c.

The inscriptions found by Mr. Hananer on the tubes of the stone syphon (Fig. 1), discovered by Mr. Dickson near "Rachel's Tomb,"[1] belong to the same group as those published by

Fig. 1.—Disjointed Tubes of the Stone Syphon.

M. Clermont-Ganneau and Father Germer-Durand.[2] The latter furnish the names of five centurions—Pomponius, Severus, Quartus, Vitalis, and Aurelianus (?) The new inscriptions[3] may be read > (*centuria*) *Valeri(i), Aemili(ani)* (Fig. 2, p. 76), and > (*centuria*) *Natalis*,—the "century commanded by Valerius Aemilianus" and

[1] *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 296.

[2] *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.*, vol. iv. p. 206 *sqq.*; *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 119 *sqq.*; *Echos d'Orient*, December, 1901.

[3] A third inscription is illegible on the photographs and squeezes which have been forwarded.

the "century commanded by Natalis." Mr. F. Haverfield, the highest authority in this country on Roman antiquities, informs me that they are centurial inscriptions of the ordinary type, and such as occur by scores on the Roman wall between Newcastle and Carlisle. They denote that the two centuries, with the aid possibly of forced native labour, constructed that part of the work in which the stones occur. The natural inference from the series of "centurial stones" found in the syphon is that the aqueduct is Roman, and

Fig. 2.—Centurial Inscription.

military.[1] The date of the inscriptions is uncertain. The lettering is rude, but need not be late; the explanation of EOS · ICLEMENT[illegible], in *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, pp. 119 *sqq.*, is almost certainly wrong.

It is possible, however, that the "High-Level Aqueduct," with its inverted stone syphon, is pre-Roman, but very extensively

[1] Mr. Haverfield points out that there was an inverted syphon under the river in the course of a Roman aqueduct at Lyons. He refers to Lenthéric, *le Rhône* i, 384; Merckel, *Ingenieurtechnik im Alterthum*, pp. 560, 562; and Vitruvius, viii, 6.

repaired by the Romans. There are examples of similar syphons at Patara, Laodicea, and other places in Asia Minor which are usually supposed to be Greek; and the syphon in the Jerusalem aqueduct may have been constructed by Greek engineers[1] for Herod the Great. It may reasonably be inferred from the description which Josephus gives[2] of the irrigated gardens and fountains of Herod's fortified palace in the "Upper City" that they were provided with a constant supply of running water: and the only known conduit capable of delivering a steady stream of water at the required level is the "High-Level Aqueduct." Before the Roman army closed round Jerusalem the Jews, after filling all the tanks and cisterns within the city, would break the aqueducts so as to increase the difficulties of the besiegers; and it is quite conceivable that a large portion of the stone syphon was destroyed at this time. When Jerusalem fell, and the "Upper City" was converted into a Legionary Fortress, the complete restoration of the "High-Level Aqueduct" and its stone syphon must have been a matter of prime importance to the garrison; and it is possible that the centurions mentioned in the inscriptions were officers of the famous Tenth Legion, Fretensis. If the "High-Level Aqueduct" be not Herodian, the arrangements for the supply of water to the royal palace and its gardens must remain for the present an unsolved mystery.[3]

A closer examination than has yet been made of the rock-hewn portion of the conduit, and, if possible, of the tubes at the commencement of the syphon, is very desirable. If the "High-Level Aqueduct" was originally military and Roman, inscriptions will be found, probably, in the rock-hewn channel, in the filtering tank,[4] and on the stone tubes on the slope of the hill south of "Rachel's Tomb." It may be added that Mr. Dickson has very kindly secured one of the inscribed tubes for the Fund, and had it brought to Jerusalem; the others have been destroyed.

[1] The evidence of Greek influence is very apparent in the masonry of the Wailing Place and of the base of the "Tower of David."

[2] *B. J.*, v. 4, § 4.

[3] The conduit, of which portions have been found outside and inside the walls, to the north of the citadel, appears to have been for the collection of surface drainage only; and the supply from the *Birket Mamilla* would have been insufficient for irrigation.

[4] A rock-hewn tank for the deposition of sediment before the water entered the syphon.

EXCAVATIONS OF THE GERMAN PALESTINE EXPLORATION SOCIETY AT TELL EL-MUTESELLIM IN 1903.

By Major-General Sir CHARLES WILSON, K.C.B. K.C.M.G., &c.

Tell el-Mutesellim, generally identified with Megiddo, lies on the direct road from *Haifa* to *Jenîn*, about $20\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the former place, whence it can easily be reached in summer by carriage, and $10\frac{3}{4}$ miles from *Jenîn*. The hill is a prominent landmark, and from its summit one of the finest views of the great plain of Esdraelon is obtained. At the foot of its eastern slope runs the great road from Northern Syria to Egypt, which, after passing through the ruins at *Lejjûn*, some 1,400 yards to the south, crosses the hills by a low pass to the plain of Sharon. In summer, camel caravans from Hamath and the Euphrates Valley may be seen still following the ancient road to the markets of Egypt. To the right of the road from the *Tell* to *Lejjûn* runs a rocky ridge in which two natural recesses mark the sites of a Roman theatre and a large reservoir, both in ruins. Towards the south the ridge is covered with Arab and Roman ruins, and bears the name *Ḥahr ed-Dâr*, and here it is separated from the extensive ruins at *Lejjûn* by a perennial stream which rises at *'Ain es-Sitt* in the *Wâdy Lejjûn*. Ruins and tombs are almost continuous from the *Tell* to the hills south of *Lejjûn*, and the whole forms one of the most extensive fields for excavation in Palestine.

Dr. Schumacher, who was in charge of the excavations, worked continuously from April 1st to May 29th, 1903. The ground covered by the ruins, including the ridge and *Lejjûn*, was surveyed on a scale of $\frac{1}{5000}$; a contoured plan on a scale of $\frac{1}{1000}$ was made of the *Tell*, and special plans on the $\frac{1}{100}$ scale of the ruins discovered. The summit of the *Tell* measures about 758 feet from north to south, and 1,033 feet from east to west. The east side is the highest, and here, in the hope that it might prove to be the site of an acropolis, the first trial trenches were opened. They disclosed the existence of a wall of large stones, tentatively ascribed to the fifth century B.C., surrounding the highest part of the mound. Beneath this was older masonry, which it is believed formed part of a gateway of the ninth or tenth century B.C.; and at a lower level the débris of an earlier period, as yet undetermined. At the edge

of the *Tell* was found a well-coursed wall of sun-dried brick, which appears to have been the oldest enclosing wall of the city. The bricks are of yellow clay, and they contain small particles of diorite and chopped straw.

Not far from the gateway a small "holy place," surrounded by a 3-foot wall, and divided into chambers, was uncovered. In it were three *massebôth*, four jars containing infant skeletons, such as have been found at Gezer and Taanach, a rude limestone god, apparently of Egyptian origin, a few "Horus eyes," and other figures. A little further south several jars containing infant remains were found leaning against an old wall. They were surrounded with fine ashes and covered with stones. Other infant burials were discovered at the foot of the brick wall. In every case the mouth of the jar containing the infant was covered by a bowl, and in some instances small jars were buried with the child. The mode of burial is similar to that at Gezer, but the form of the jars seems to be different. More to the south, a well-preserved burial vault with walls of hewn stone and a covering of heavy stone slabs was brought to light. In it were 10 skeletons, mostly of full-grown men, buried with the heads to the east, and in six cases face downwards. A grave opened on the south side of the *Tell* produced undoubted Egyptian remains, including an Egyptian head of red burned clay, and a finely-worked vessel with three legs, of dolerite. At the south end of the Tell were also found a finely-painted Egyptian incense vessel, and two standing stones, each bearing a rudely-chiselled early Hebrew, or Phœnician letter. At *Lejjûn* several clay bricks with the stamp of the sixth Legion, Ferrata, were obtained.

On September 20th the excavations were resumed under the direction of Dr. Benzinger, with the support of a grant of £1,300 made by the German Emperor. On December 1st the work was closed for the winter. A trench, 65 feet 7 inches wide and about 13 feet deep, was commenced at the north end of the Tell and carried southwards. Amongst the finds were walls of sun-dried brick standing on foundations of from four to five courses of medium-sized unhewn stones, a seven-spouted Jewish lamp, painted pottery sherds, &c. A pre-Exilic tomb with a very rich assortment of pottery was also opened.

Excavations were recommenced on March 4th, 1904, with from 180 to 190 labourers. Very interesting and even important discoveries were made, but no report of them has yet appeared.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

By Joseph Offord, Esq.

1. *A New Egyptian Place-List in Northern Syria.*—Upon the interior of the body of the newly-discovered chariot of Thothmes IV, now in the Cairo Museum, is a list of the various tribes whose defeat is depicted in the bas-reliefs in stucco delineated upon the panels.

As a further addition, portraits are presented giving the facial physiognomy of each of the people enumerated, so that we have a pictorial ethnographical dictionary of various Semitic tribes.[1]

The list referring to Syria contains six names, and heads. These names all appear to be those of North Syrian sites between the Orontes and Euphrates, and should enable us, by a collation with other texts of Egyptian conquests in Western Asia, to establish the position of each of these cities or districts.

The names given are Naharina, Sangara, Tunipa, Shasu, Kadshi, and Tikhisa. Of these the first is undoubtedly a tract of country, not a city, and bordered on the Euphrates.[2]

Sangara.—Thothmes III speaks of a king of Sangara as if it were a district, saying that, on leaving the king's place, he, on his return journey to Egypt, passed the city of Niy; whilst Tiglath Pileser I calls a Hittite prince of Carchemish, Sangara. Adad-Nirari and Shalmaneser II mention a river Sangara, but Samsi-adad claims receipt of tribute from the land of the Singuriai, so Sangara may have been the territory bordering on the Sangara, or Sanjur, river.

Tunip is universally agreed to be the modern Tenneb.

The Shasu are supposed to be the Bedawîn or North Arabian nomads of those days.

Kadshi is probably a variant of Kadesh.

Tekhis, or Takhis, which almost certainly is identical with the Tikhisa of this chariot list, was near the Orontes, it seems to have been the title both of a territory and a town: for Thothmes III records capturing "Anrathu, a city of the district of Tikhis": whilst Amenophis II speaks of taking "the city of Tikhis with seven rebellious chiefs among its garrison." The last Pharaoh associates it with the city of Niy, which, as has been mentioned, lay upon the Egyptian, or southern, side of Sangara.[3]

[1] There are also a number of negroid or Nubian tribes.

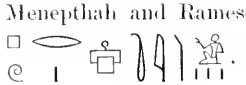
[2] [Probably the Nahrima or Narima of the Amarna tablets, *cp.* Aram-Nâharaim.—Ed.]

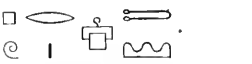
[3] *See* the new volume edited by Messrs. Howard Carter and Percy Newberry of the *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Nos. 46,001 to 46,529.

2. *The Egyptian Name for Canaan and Philistia.*—In the first volume of the *Bulletin* of the French Archæological Institute of Cairo, M. Chassinat gives a text referring to an interpreter probably accompanying an Egyptian army or travellers to Syria. He was specially interpreter of two languages therein—

and .

The first, evidently Canaan, is a much more correct counterpart of its Hebrew name, כְּנַעַן, than the usual Egyptian form, . It proves finally that the Egyptians, when speaking of Pakanāna, meant not merely a fortress but the Biblical Canaan.

The second name corresponds letter for letter with פְּלֶשֶׁת; Menepthah and Rameses had given it in their inscriptions, amplified  . If from this we deduct the signs embodied in it for forming an ethnic, we obtain either—

, or , or  .

The final rendering is certainly identical with the newly-found title of the district whose language the interpreter spoke, and is the name of the Philistine region south-east of Palestine.

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3. In the *Nouvelles Archives de Missions Scientifiques et Litteraires*, vol. x, 1903, p. 678, MM. René Dussaud and Macler, among many hundreds of new Syrian inscriptions, give one referring to the restoration of Pagan worship in that province by the Emperor Julian. It was discovered at 'Anz, and reads:—"Under the reign of Flavius Julius Emperor Augustus the sacrifices have been renewed and the temple restored and consecrated in the year 256, the 5th Dustros." In their notes the travellers point out it was in A.D. 361-2 Julian's instructions were promulgated, the edict being issued at Constantinople, December 11th, 361; therefore 256 of the era of Bostra is 361 or 362 A.D. The text shows that by March 5th, A.D. 362, the order had been some short time before received in the Hauran. We know the Heliopolis temple was reopened in April or May, and that of Daphne in October, 362.

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

The Biblical World, published by the University of Chicago, 1904.—In 1903 a friend of the University offered a substantial sum of money to be available annually for five years for exploration and excavation in Bible Lands. On this offer was founded the *Oriental Exploration Fund*, which obtained a firman for excavating at *Bismya*, probably the Isin or Nisin of Babylonia. Work has been commenced on the ground and the results have been very promising. Dr. Masterman concludes his well-illustrated paper on the "Feasts and Fasts of the Jews." Those included in the volume are the Day of Atonement, the Feast of Tabernacles, the Feast of Dedication, the Feast of Purim, and the Feast of the Passover. In an interesting, illustrated article, Professor S. I. Curtiss, the lamented author of *Primitive Semitic Religion of to-day*, gives the result of his examination into the survival of primitive institutions in Syria and Palestine during the summer of 1903. Under the heading "The Temple at Jerusalem in Jesus' Day," Mr. C. W. Votaw notices the restoration of the Temple proposed by Dr. Sanday and Mr. Waterhouse in "Sacred Sites of the Gospel." In "How was the Curse of Jericho Fulfilled," Professor Theodore F. Wright, Hon. Secretary General of the Palestine Exploration Fund in America, basing his remarks on Mr. Macalister's discoveries at Gezer, points out a probable explanation of Joshua vi, 26, viz., that when the wall was commenced the body of Hiel's eldest son was placed beneath the foundation stone, and that the body of his youngest son was buried under the last gate that was completed.

Vol. xxiv, Nos. 1–5, 1904.—Additional reports on the excavations at *Bismya*, where a large marble statue has been found far below the ruins of Naram-sin's time. Three lines of an inscription in the most archaic character give the name of the temple, the king, and the city—*Udnun* (pp. 377–379). An interesting paper, "The Levitical cities of Israel in the light of the Excavations at Gezer," by Professor G. A. Barton, shows the importance attached to Mr. Macalister's work for the Fund at Gezer. Dr Barton points out that the selection of Gezer as a Levitical city was probably due to the previous existence of the Canaanite "High Place," and that the other Levitical cities appear to have had a similar origin (pp. 167–179).

Inscriptions Égyptiennes du Sinaï, by Raymond Weill, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1903.—Captain Weill tells a curious story of the recovery of squeezes presented to the British Museum by Holland, Macdonald, and others. The documents had been used by the late Dr. Birch when preparing his contribution to the "Notes to the Ordnance Survey of Sinai," and as the result of a search made at Captain Weill's request they were found amongst a collection of private papers. They supply numerous

verifications and corrections of inscriptions already known, and several new texts. Amongst the latter are unedited stelæ of Thothmes IV at Sarâbit el-Khadim ; important inscriptions of the Vth Dynasty at Maghârah ; and some inscriptions of the XIIth Dynasty at both places, and *bas-reliefs* of the first three Dynasties at Maghârah.

La Vase de Phæstos, by R. Weill, in *Rev. Arch.*, 1904.—It is argued that the vase belongs to the Knossos period of Cretan civilisation ; that the persons represented on the vase are related to the "People of the Sea" whose features are known to us from the monuments of the XXth Dynasty, and that, consequently, the Cretans of the Knossos period and the "People of the Sea," amongst whom are the *Pulusati*, or Philistines, are closely related to each other.

Researches of the American School in Palestine, by Professor G. A. Barton, Director 1902–3, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*. A series of papers describing : (1) The *Tombs of the Judges*, which was cleared out for the first time, and another rock-hewn tomb near it. In front of the Tombs of the Judges there proved to have been a court, or outer porch, measuring 10 by 9 mètres. (2) An *excavation* outside the north wall of Jerusalem, immediately west of the Damascus Gate. The ruins are supposed to be those of a Servian monastery known to have been in this locality. Some of the stones of the masonry have the characteristic diagonal tooling of the Crusading period, as to which Professor Barton remarks that "evidence is altogether wanting, so far as I know, to prove that this style of stone cutting first came into vogue in the time of the Crusaders." The diagonal tooling is found on the stones of no building of undoubtedly earlier date than the Crusades. On the other hand it is to be seen on all or nearly all buildings of that period, and it is found on Norman buildings in England accompanied by similar mason's marks. The natural inference is that the western masons took their tools with them when they went to Palestine. Professor Barton apparently considers that there is something peculiarly Jewish in the marginal drafts so commonly seen on stones at Jerusalem. But the marginal draft is really a natural development in mural masonry at a time when builders began to lay large stones in regular courses with close beds and joints. Large stones with marginal drafts and rough projecting faces are found in the Hittite (?) ruins at Boghaz Keui ; stones with drafts and finely chiselled faces, equal to the best in the Wailing Place, were used in the construction of that temple of Diana at Ephesus which was burned on the night when Alexander was born : they may be seen in some of the early buildings at Athens, and are reproduced in stucco at Pompeii. The smaller stones with drafts are common to many of the mediæval castles in Europe. (3) Some tentative excavations on a spot assumed by Mr. Hanauer to be the site of *Solomon's harbour* at Jaffa showed a water deposit reaching much lower than the sea bed near the shore, but disclosed no trace of a harbour. The two first papers are well illustrated.

Two new Hebrew weights, by Professor G. A. Barton, in *Journal of American Oriental Society*. (1) A unique weight "made of bronze" which bears the inscription in old Hebrew characters "Belonging to Zechariah [son of] Yaer (Jaer)." It was purchased at Jerusalem, and is probably a ten gerah weight. (2) A new weight of the type found by Dr. Bliss in the Shephelah. It, also, was purchased at Jerusalem, and weighs 153½ grains.

Revue Biblique, 1904.—No. 3 contains a well illustrated article by Macridy Bey on the Turkish excavations at Sidon. Two tombs with sarcophagi and funerary inscriptions, the site of a temple near *Helalieh*, and some very interesting painted stelæ (found in 1897) are described. There is also a valuable report by Fathers Jaussen, Savignac, and Vincent on the exploration of *'Abdeh*, Eboda, carried out by the *École Biblique de St. Étienne* of Jerusalem for the French Academy. In 1871 Palmer and Drake paid a hurried visit to the place, but their report (*Quarterly Statement*, 1871) was far from complete. The Dominican Fathers have now supplied a good plan, accompanied by a full report, and numerous photographs and plans of details. The most interesting features are the impregnable position of the city, the "high place," the supposed tomb of the deified king Obodas, a Roman camp, a Byzantine fortress with two churches, and a bath. Traces of Nabatæan inscriptions were also found.

No. 4.—The principal feature is an article, with excellent illustrations, by Macridy Bey, on his excavations in the cemeteries of Sidon for the Imperial Ottoman Museum. The first section is devoted to the 12 new painted *stelæ*, with figures of warriors and inscriptions of interest from an epigraphical point of view, which were found at the south end of Sidon, at the foot of a hill crowned by the ruins of an ancient fortress. The *stelæ* are interesting archæologically, from their bearing on the history of ancient painting, and historically from the new information they contain relating to the composition of the Seleucid army. In a tomb south of Tyre Macridy Bey found funerary urns containing human remains cremated in haste, which, he suggests, may have been the bodies of soldiers who took part in the 13 years' siege (588–574 B.C.) of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar. The number also contains papers on Nabatæan inscriptions in the Haurân by R. P. Savignac, and on the excavations at Gezer, and *Tell el-Mutesellim* by R. P. Vincent.

Zeitschrift d. Deutschen Pal.-Vereins, xxvii, 4.—The German Evangelical Archæological Institute at Jerusalem has lost no time in commencing good and much-needed work. Its Director, Professor G. Dalman, contributes to the present number of the *Zeitschrift* a careful and almost exhaustive "study" of the Pass of Michmash, and of the ground between *Jeba'* and *Makhmâs*. He has come to the conclusion that the scene of Jonathan's exploit was at *Khirbet el-Miḳṭara*, a little below the point at which the bed of *Wâdy es-Suweinit* commences to be walled in by rocks, and some distance higher up than *el-Ḥusn*—the spot favoured by Colonel

Cond[illegible] Dalman's explanation of the presence of the Assyrians at M[illegible] (Isaiah x, 28) off the direct road to Jerusalem is well deserving of [illegible]. He suggests that they intended to surprise the city, [illegible] shows that, under certain circumstances, they could have reached the ridge of Scopus without being seen. A "study" of the external features of the "Tombs of the Kings," by one of Dr. Dalman's students, is a record of a useful and thorough bit of work. The number also includes a valuable criticism of the map of Palestine by W. Wey, who visited the Holy Land in 1458 and in 1462, by Professor Dr. Röhricht, and a description of the Samaritan Passover by Dr. Moulton, U.S.A.

Mitt. und Nach des D.P.V. 1904. Nos. 3-5.—Reports on the excavations at *Tell el-Mutesellim* (*see* p. 78) by Dr. Schumacher and Dr. Benzinger, Meteorological reports from Palestine and Jerusalem by Dr. Blankenhorn—the rainfall on the coast during the rainy season 1903-04 was only about one-half that during 1902-3, and at Jerusalem during the same period it was 103, 7 mm. less than the average. Snow fell on January 29th and 30th, 1904.

Altneuland, 1904. Nos. 6-11.—Dr. Soskin concludes his paper on colonisation. There are also papers by Dr. Sandler on "Trachoma"; by Dr. Blanckenhorn on the establishment of meteorological stations in Jewish colonies, and on the geology of Syria; Dr. Schönfeld on cultivation in the Sinaitic Peninsula; by Dr. Sander on locusts and the best means of destroying them; by Dr. Warburg on Jewish colonisation in Northern Syria; and by Dr. Blau on the administrative autonomy of Samos.

Das heilige Land, vol. 47, No. 4.—A record of a journey in Sinai made by students of the Biblical school at Jerusalem. Palestine in the 15th century B.C. from the Tell el-Amarna Tablets. How far back can the tradition that the Cenaculum was the scene of the Last Supper be traced back? The writer cites Peter of Sebaste (*circ.* 380). Daily life of the fellahîn, illustrated by photographs.

Vol. 48, Nos. 1 to 4.—Illustrated articles on the building of the Mary Church on Sion by the Germans, with good views of the works in progress; on the building of the new German Hospice, on the Paulus platz, outside the Damascus Gate; and on the life of the fellahîn in the "Land of the Gibeonites." Also an article on pilgrimages to Jerusalem in the first four centuries.[1]

C. W. W.

[1] Shortly before we go to press the Committee received from the Vicomte F. de Salignac Fénélon (of Toulouse) a copy of the great work upon which he has been engaged for many years, *l'Arche, le Tabernacle, et le Temple de Jerusalem*. The subject is illustrated by many plans and diagrams engraved to a large scale. A notice will probably appear in a future number of the *Quarterly Statement*.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Mount Zion.*—It is proposed to show (1) the precise meaning of Zion or Mount Zion in the Old Testament, and (2) the approximate position of Golgotha thereon.

It has already been pointed out in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1881 p. 94, that six historical passages in the Bible show that Zion, and the stronghold (of Zion) and the City of David are one and the same place, being situated, according to Nehemiah, on Ophel (so called), south of the temple. 1 Maccabees eight times mentions Mount Zion, obviously referring to the temple or sanctuary (here Thrupp errs), but never Zion (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 182), using instead the term "City of David." Josephus mentions neither Zion nor Mount Zion, and names the City of David (only twice) in one passage, but he often substitutes for it in his *Antiquities* the less precise term Jerusalem. In the poetical and prophetical passages of the Old Testament, both Zion and Mount Zion have often a wider meaning, always, however, limited to the eastern ridge (Mount Moriah), or to its inhabitants, but neither term is used as equivalent to Jerusalem.

I assert this deliberately, after examining all the passages I can find (over 130) in which the terms occur, and after finding, to my surprise, that the stock texts quoted to prove the contrary, with one voice, really support this view.

Some five cases, however, need explanation:—

(1) Is. lxvi, 20, "To my holy mountain Jerusalem." As "the holy mountain" in the Bible doubtless means Mount Zion, my contention seems, at first sight, to fail. The LXX, however, read *city* instead of *mountain*. Jerusalem is repeatedly called the holy city, and Zion oftener the holy mountain. Mountain is obviously a wrong reading.

(2) Is. lii, 8, "When the Lord shall bring again Zion." It is hard to move hills. The Revised Version, however, translates "returneth *to* Zion."

(3) Zech. ii, 7, "Ho! Zion, escape, thou that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon." The LXX here again give timely aid. "Escape to Zion" (εἰς Σιών). The Jews in Babylon are simply urged to return to Zion.

(4) Is. lx, 14, "They shall call thee the City of the Lord, the Zion of the Holy One of Israel." This hardly needs notice. Zion was *literally* the City of David; elsewhere it is called the City of God, and its name may here represent its inhabitants, just as Jerusalem represents its own citizens in the New Testament.

(5) Is. xl, 9, "O Zion that bringest good tidings." As the Revised Version gives, "O thou that tellest good tidings to Zion," the apparent difficulty vanishes.

Writers have urged that poetical parallelism frequently shows that Zion is equivalent to Jerusalem, *e.g.*, "They build up Zion with blood and Jerusalem with iniquity"; again, "Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem, praise thy God, O Zion." (Micah iii, 10; Psalms cxlvii, 12). Similar instances abound. To assert from this that Zion is the same as Jerusalem, seems to me most strange. But if it be clear to Hebrew scholars, perhaps they will point out why the following should not also prove that Zion was Judah, and the cities of Judah, *i.e.*, that a small place was identical with the land of a whole tribe, and also with many cities. Here are the texts to be tested: (*a*) Jer. xiv, 19, "Hast thou utterly rejected Judah, hath thy soul lothed Zion?" (*b*) Psalms lxix, 35, "God will save Zion, and will build the cities of Judah." Also xlviii, 11; xcvii, 8.

The only Biblical approach to Zion meaning Jerusalem is in Revised Version, Acts iv, 27, *in this city* (which Alford says answers to "on Mount Zion," Psalms ii, 6), including the Upper City (S.W. hill), in which Herod may have been when Pilate sent Jesus *up* (Bengel, *ἀνέπεμψεν*) to him (from Antonia). This might suggest that Zion had then begun to lose its limited application to the eastern hill: then, the change advanced further through Josephus, until the Christians of the fourth century applied the name of Zion to the south-west hill alone. As to the Old Testament, Fergusson (I believe) was right in not regarding Zion and Jerusalem as one and the same place. Just as Westminster may be part of London but is not identical with it, so, I maintain, Zion was part of Jerusalem, but never was identical with it. If this conclusion is correct, it remains to be shown that while the sepulchres of David were at the southern extremity of (Mount Zion), the eastern ridge, the tomb of David's son was towards its northern extremity on the ridge, east of the Damascus Gate (*Quarterly Statement*, 1891, p. 255).

Rev. W. F. Birch.

2. *Cypriote Weights.*—The differing forms of the Cypriote character, *ro*, to which Mr. Macalister draws attention, are of no import. The round-headed and diamond-headed forms are more common even than the flat-headed. I do not know why he should assume that the coins inscribed *ro* and *ros(e)* should each weigh "one rôs." Such an assumption is not at all likely, as no numeral is expressed in either case. The discovery of the new weight in the Maccabean stratum is interesting. The weight itself, however, must be of earlier date, since the Cypriote characters can hardly be later than the age of Alexander the Great.

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

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3. *The Bronze Scimitar.*—The bronze scimitar discovered by Mr. Macalister (*Quarterly Statement* for October, 1904, pp. 334, 335), with its flanged handle, has the same shape as an Assyrian scimitar with a similar handle now in the British Museum, which bears the name of Hadad-nirari I (B.C. 1330). The latter has been published in the *Transactions* of the Society of Biblical Archæology, iv, p. 347. The form goes back to that of the Egyptian "khopesh," as depicted, for instance, in a Xth dynasty tomb at Assiût.[1]

PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE.

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4. *The Egyptian Cylinder.*—Professor Petrie has kindly communicated the following interpretation of the cylinder illustrated

in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 336, "the keeper of the horses, beloved of Set, Ara, having future life." The flower after a name is usual from the XIXth to XXVth dynasties, though generally for women's names. The *set* and the "horse" are not clear in the copy, but probably must be read so.

[1] [Prof. Petrie, in a private communication, remarks that the form is Egyptian XIXth dynasty, perhaps borrowed from abroad, although the work is reminiscent of the Assyrian falchion referred to.—ED.]

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PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Committee desire to appeal very earnestly to subscribers and their friends to assist them in completing the Excavations of Gezer as thoroughly as possible before the expiration of the extension of time granted by the Sultan. *Special donations* are invited.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has kindly consented to take the chair at the Annual General Meeting at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, and has appointed three o'clock on Friday, July 14th. Tickets of admission will be issued to subscribers and their friends on application to the Acting Secretary, at the office of the Fund, on or after July 1st.

The Eleventh Quarterly Report on the Excavation of Gezer is devoted primarily to a description of those buildings which Mr. Macalister in the last report regarded as belonging to the Maccabean period. An interesting Greek inscription has been unearthed which appears to refer to the "Palace of Simon," and if the interpretation be correct, there seems to be good reason to believe with Mr. Macalister that the discoveries made at Gezer during the last three months are immediately connected with the conquest of Gazara by Simon the Maccabee, an account of which is given in I Maccabees xiii. It is unfortunate that the inscription itself is not so clear as could be desired, but the archæological evidence is confirmatory, and one may hope that further excavation may bring more epigraphical evidence to light.

The special donations to the expenses of the Excavation of Gezer comprise the following :—Walter Morrison, Esq., £50 ; Lord

Amherst of Hackney, £21; Charles Lewis Brooke, Esq., £20; S. Vaughan Morgan, Esq., £10; Miss Robinson, £5; Henry Wagner, Esq., £5; small donations, £13 15*s.* 0*d.*; £124 15*s.* 0*d.* in all: bringing the total up to £974 8*s.* 2*d.*

Subscribers are warned against purchasing from dealers, whether in this country or in Palestine, any antiquities as coming from particular sites which have been excavated by the Fund. All antiquities found in those sites by the officers of the Fund are scrupulously handed over to the Turkish Government, and any found by the illicit digging of natives are, when sold by them to dealers, invariably attributed to sites other than those from which they really come, lest the diggers be discovered and punished.

We are glad to be able to announce that the Fund's latest publication of a work containing a full description of the Painted Tombs at Marissa will probably be issued by the time the present number is in the hands of subscribers. The volume contains numerous plates, several of which are coloured; these illustrate the tombs, their internal decoration, the painted friezes, and the inscriptions. There are, further, 24 figures in the text, consisting of plans and sections, facsimiles of graffiti and inscriptions, &c. The letter-press is the work of the Rev. Dr. Peters, of New York, and Dr. Thiersch, of Munich, both well-known archæologists. The former contributes a general introductory account, whilst the detailed descriptions of the tombs are by both authors, as also are the complete edition of the Greek inscriptions and graffiti, and the discussion of the eras. Dr. Thiersch gives a valuable chapter upon the place of the tombs in the history of art and culture, whilst Dr. Peters concludes the work with an account of the miscellaneous objects which were found in the tombs.

In the present number we have been able to print further specimens of Palestinian folk-lore collected by the Rev. J. E. Hanauer. A large number of them have recently been published by him in conjunction with Professor Mitchell, late Director of the American School at Jerusalem, under the title "Tales Told in Palestine." We trust that this will make these interesting stories known to a wider circle of readers.

The paper in the present number on "The Camp of the Tenth Legion at Jerusalem" (pp. 138–144) forms part of a chapter on the ancient walls of Jerusalem, which Sir Charles Wilson has written for his forthcoming book on "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre." In the July number of the *Quarterly Statement* some extracts will be published from his discussion of the "second" wall of Josephus.

From *The Times* of February 17th we read that the Official Receiver's report to creditors and shareholders under the failure of the Syria Ottoman Railway Company states that the company was constituted under Turkish law, and was formed in order to carry out the concession granted by the Turkish Government to J. R. Pilling and Jos. Elias for the construction of a railway from Acre and Ḥaifa to Damascus. The date of incorporation was November, 1901, and the winding-up order was made in February, 1904.

Mr. R. Phené Spiers, F.S.A., whose interesting article on Baalbec (1904, pp. 58–64) our readers will doubtless remember, has contributed a valuable discussion upon the trilithon in *The Builder* of February 11th. It is illustrated with plans and some beautiful plates, which afford an excellent idea of the gigantic size of the stones of which the trilithon is composed. We may recall the interesting fact that the three huge blocks of stone are from 60–64 feet in length, 13 feet high, and about as many feet in thickness, whilst that which still remains in the ancient quarries is 71 feet in length, and would probably weigh about 1,500 tons. We hope to be able to give some account of Mr. Spiers' article in an early number.

We learn that the late Mr. Frederick D. Mocatta, F.R.G.S., has bequeathed the sum of £100 to the Palestine Exploration Fund. He was always greatly interested in Palestinian research, and for many years was a member of the General Committee.

The Damascus–Mecca railway is being pushed on, and has already been utilised for the transport of troops. The Reserves called out in Southern Palestine were assembled at Jerusalem, and marched to *'Ammân*, where they entrained for *Ma'ân*. Thence they

marched to *'Akabah*, and embarked for Yemen. The members of the railway administration are all Moslems.

According to French papers, the Porte have approved of the construction of a railway from *Hamah* to Aleppo by a French Company. This will place Aleppo in direct railway communication with *Beirût*.

The Spanish dialect (Castilian) spoken by the Spanish Jews of Jerusalem, which has suffered little corruption during their 400 years' residence in the city, is beginning to attract the attention of students of the Spanish language.

From a paper in *Ausland*, it would appear that the Jewish colonies in Palestine derived much benefit from the activity of the Anglo-Palestine Company in 1904. The Jews, in spite of their small numbers, are acquiring considerable influence in Palestine. New colonies have been formed in the north, and in the south the area of some of the colonies has been increased. The tenant farmers are doing well, and a small society of Russian Jews has rented land on the *Buteiha* Plain, north of the Sea of Galilee. The model farm at *Sijera* has been very successful in training new colonists to agricultural pursuits. Co-operative societies have been formed for the collection and sale of oranges, and their success is leading to the formation of similar societies for the sale of other produce. The cultivation of oranges and almonds is being largely extended. Successful experiments have been made in the growth of cotton, without irrigation, and in the cultivation of ground nuts; and tobacco has only failed from want of experience.

From the latest report of the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine, it would appear that the extra subscriptions received during 1903 for the excavations at *Tell el-Mutesellim* (Mejiddo) amounted to £1,940. Of this sum H.I.M. the German Emperor contributed £1,300, and the "Orient Gesellschaft," £500.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister

illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

A number of lectures are to be delivered in Scotland and the provinces on the Fund's excavations at Gezer, and it is hoped that where arrangements have not yet been made, subscribers and those interested in the work will communicate through the Local Secretary.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900, price by post, 7*d*. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s*.

The income of the Society from December 17th, 1904, to March 21st, 1905, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £627 10*s*. 10*d*.; from sales of publications, &c., £107 1*s*. 11*d*.; making in all, £734 12*s*. 9*d*. The

expenditure during the same period was £761 10*s.* 10*d.* On March 21st the balance in the bank was £467 4*s.* 6*d.*

Subscribers will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1904 will be published in a separate form with this number.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The following gentleman has kindly consented to act:—Arthur M. Oliver, Esq., West Jesmond Villa, for Newcastle-on-Tyne, in place of A. Brooke Lloyd, Esq., resigned.

The Acting Secretary has now completed a Small Photo-relief Map of Palestine, on a scale of 10 miles to the inch. It has been made from the Large Raised Map published in 1893, and contains all the principal biblical sites and their altitudes. All the chief topographical features are faithfully reproduced, and students of the Bible will find it an indispensable guide. Fuller particulars may be had on application to the office, where the map may be seen.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch and measures 3′ 6″ × 2′ 6″. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. Further particulars may be had on application.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1903, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine

Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, (5) of the Hechel in Solomon's Temple, (6) of the Hechel in Herod's Temple, (7) of the Tabernacle, have been received at the office of the Fund. The seven photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

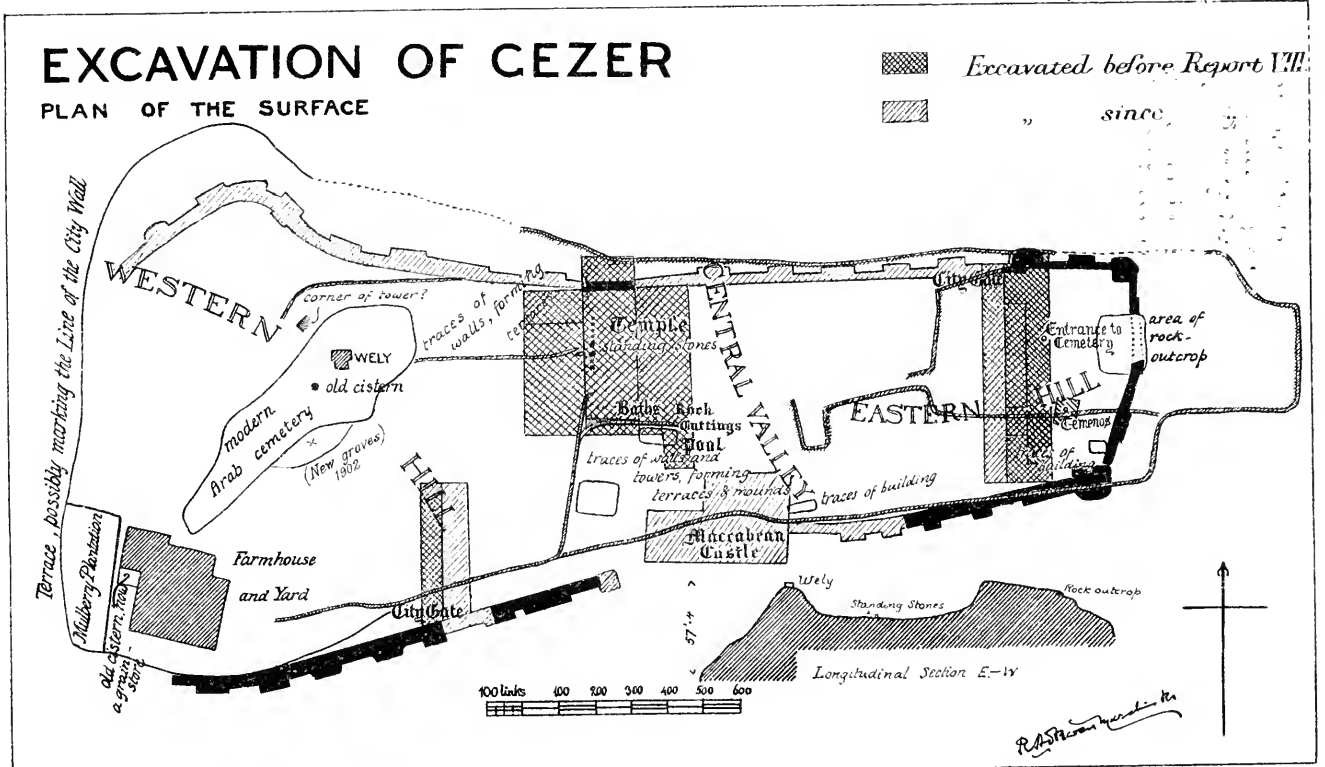
Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale." From the Author, Professor M. Clermont-Ganneau. Tome VI, Livraisons 20–23.—§ 33. *Fiches et Notules* : Inscription d'El-Maqsoura ; Αὐξόνι ; Martha ; Phaena de la Trachonite ; Le nom phénicien Gerhekal ; Inscription bilingue de Qal'at Ezraq ; Χάρη Βοστρα ! Saint Epiphane et l'alchimie. § 34. Le roi de "tous les Arabes." § 35. Leucas et Balanée. § 36. Vente de sépulcres. § 37. Nouvelles découvertes archéologiques dans le Haurân. § 38. La

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

PLAN OF THE SURFACE



HARRISON & SONS, 45 PALL MALL, LONDON, S.W.

ELEVENTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

13 *November*, 1904—15 *February*, 1905.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

"*In the hundred and seventieth year* [c. B.C. 143] *was the yoke of the "heathen taken away from Israel. And the people began to write "in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon, "the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews. In those "days he encamped against Gazara and compassed it round about "with armies: and he made an engine of siege, and brought it up "to the city, and smote a tower, and took it. And they that were "in the engine leaped forth into the city: and there was a great "uproar in the city: and they of the city rent their clothes, and went "up on the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a "loud voice, making request to Simon to give them his right hand. "And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickednesses, "but according to thy mercy. And Simon was reconciled to them, "and did not fight against them: and he put them out of the city, "and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into "it with singing and giving praise. And he put all uncleanness "out of it, and placed in it such men as would keep the law, and "made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling-"place for himself. . . . And Simon saw that John his son was a "valiant man, and he made him leader of all his forces: and he "dwelt in Gazara.*"

I have prefixed the foregoing extract from the First Book of Maccabees [chap. xiii, Revised Version], which is by far the most graphic account of any historical event connected with Gezer that we possess, as it serves as a text on which to base the present report. There is every reason to believe that the discoveries of the last three months are to be connected immediately with this Maccabean conquest of Gazara.

It will be remembered that in the preceding report a very perplexing series of constructions was described, the excavation of which had not advanced far enough to enable any definite opinion to be pronounced regarding their mutual connection and their

relation to the rest of the remains on the mound. These constructions consisted of three principal members :—(1) A paved causeway ascending and entering the city at a level very slightly under the present surface of the ground; this causeway proceeds in a zigzag course, passing through a probably vaulted tower or gate-house on the way. (2) A long wall, neither broad enough nor sufficiently deeply founded to be considered as a section of either of the great city walls. (3) A gateway in the said wall, with an elaborate drainage system running under it.

It was noticed from an early stage of the examination of these structures that the outer city wall was interrupted in its course at the point where they occur, and did not appear to be resumed till the place where they came to an end; in short, that the long wall, though clearly not a part of the city wall, was at this point substituted for it. Shortly after commencing the excavation of this region of the mound, I formulated the following argument, which seemed to me to be sound, and it was more or less definitely put forward in the last report—(i) that all these structures are certainly contemporary, being on the same archæological horizon; (ii) that it was unlikely that there should be two city gates so close together, and that as the gateway at the head of the ramp was certainly a city gate, it followed that the smaller gate close to it was not a city gate; (iii) that, therefore, the gate in question was the entrance to a castle which, as the gate leads out of the city, must have been the residence of someone entitled to entrance and exit at all times, that is, of the military governor of the city. Whence it follows that the gate belonged to the citadel or barracks. Further, since the date of the castle, as we may henceforth call it, is certainly Maccabean, the probability is that it is actually the residence of Simon referred to in the above-quoted extract; for it is unlikely that Simon would have built another fortress if this great building were already prepared for him; while the same argument applies to any later conqueror, who would most probably have adapted Simon's construction to his own use if he wished to reside in the city, rather than erecting another. The coincidence of the wall of the city being breached at this point did not escape notice; it recalls the description of Simon's operations with his "engine of siege." Even when the last report was forwarded, though I considered it wisest to maintain an attitude of uncertainty, I had on this reasoning based the theory that the interruption noticed in the wall at this point

was actually the breach made by Simon's engine, that the ramp-entrance to the city was a Maccabean repair of this breach, and that the castle was in truth the dwelling-place that Simon built for himself.

Before proceeding to an account of the curious graffito inscription by which these theories seem to be confirmed, we may pause to notice that nowhere in the mound, with the possible exception of the western end, is there so favourable a spot for the manipulation of a siege-engine. At the east end the side of the hill is high, steep, and rocky, and the carrying up of the engine—which was no mere battering-ram or *ballista*, but a large erection in which the assaulters themselves took shelter—would have been very difficult. On the north side, though now the slope is, on the whole, comparatively gentle, the excavation has shown that the side of the hill was once, in places at least, actually precipitous and unscaleable. At the west end, the *col* on the slope of which the modern village is partly built, and which connects the *tell* with the system of hills to the south, makes an assault on the wall fairly easy, and it might have been expected that Simon would have directed his attention to that point. The spot which he seems, by my theory, to have preferred is, however, not much less attractive; it is at the lowest part of the central valley, where the hill is neither high nor steep, and where terraces outside the line of the wall afford convenient standing ground on which to erect the engine. It is possible—I speak in ignorance of practical military science, and on this point make suggestions under correction—that it would be advantageous to breach the wall of a long narrow city like Gezer at the sides rather than at the ends, as perhaps the city can be overrun by the attackers in a shorter time.

A few days after the last report was sent to London, a block of stone was found in the ruins bearing a graffito in cursive Greek characters. The block in question is a fragment of a building-stone of a kind very common in Palestine in structures of the Maccabean age: they were found in profusion in the acropolis of Tell Zakariya, in the upper city of Tell Sandaḥannah, and also in some of the caves of Beit Jibrîn which may be supposed to have been excavated or repaired and adapted for use during this epoch. They are blocks of rather soft limestone, trimmed with a chisel to the shape of an ordinary brick, and measuring about 1 foot 9 inches by 7 inches by 6 inches. The fragment now described is a wedge-shaped splinter of such a block. Fortunately the end bearing the inscription is

perfect, or nearly so: it measures 7½ inches by 6 inches. Of the length of the stone, a maximum of 5½ inches remains.

The surface, as will be seen from the accompanying photograph (Fig. 1) bears in addition to the inscription a series of lines, which seem to have some intention, though what that intention may be eludes me. It may be a magical diagram, such as is, I believe, sometimes found on imprecatory tablets of the class to which our inscription will presently be shown to belong, or it may be a rude drawing or plan of the "house" alluded to in the inscription itself.

Fig. 1.—Greek Inscription.

I have to express my acknowledgments to the Rev. Père Germer-Durand, of the Assumptionists, and the Rev. Père Lagrange, of the Dominicans, for kindly allowing me to consult them in reference to this almost illegible scribble, and for very substantial help towards its elucidation. It is written in the careless style that distinguishes the great series of magical tablets recovered from Tell Sandaḥannah, and is almost as difficult to read. Its contents are to the same general effect. With the assistance of the distinguished epigraphists named, I have arrived at the following reading:—

ΠΑΜΠΡΑ(?)CIMΩNOC
ΚΑΤΕ(?)ΠΑΓ(?)ΗΠ . . . .
ΒΑCIΛΕΙΟΝ

In the first line a fracture makes it uncertain whether we are to read the sixth letter Δ or Ι. On the whole, the indications are more in favour of the former. The division of the line into words is also not quite clear. The first vocable is a proper name, that at first sight appears to be *Pampra*, but the occurrence of a nearly similar name, Παμπρας, in *C.I.G.*, 1575 (a reference for which I am indebted to Père Germer-Durand), suggests that we are to assume the *sigma* to be iterated, that is, to be taken as serving the double purpose of ending one word and commencing the next—a common labour-saving device, if not often a mere oversight, in inscriptions of all languages and ages. The name would thus be *Pampras*, and as such I shall take it in the present discussion. There is another fracture, later on in the line, which has carried away the second half of the Μ and the top of the Ω. The Ι, it should be noticed, is attenuated to little more than a mere dot, affixed to the upper stroke of the following Μ. The Ν, which has its first upright stroke curved, is crossed about the middle by a vertical line: this, however, is merely an accidental scratch, and does not belong to the inscription.

In the second line the difficulties of reading are very great. The letters are so carelessly formed that several of them are ambiguous, and they are run together in such a way that they are not very easily separated. My reading is ΚΑΤΕΠΑΓΗ, given above: Père Germer-Durand prefers ΚΑΤΟΠΑΞΗ (*κατοπάζῃ*). Either is possible. The end of the line is so faintly scratched that it is impossible to be certain of the reading. Père Germer-Durand makes ΠΥΡΙ, which would give good sense, but to my eye there appear to be other letters that will not work in with this word. I can make nothing better than ΠΥΓΜΗΝ, literally *boxing*, possibly used here in the general sense of *fighting* or *assaulting*; from the point of view of the meaning, this is far less satisfactory.

The third line is perfectly clear and the reading certain.

Thus the whole seems to read something like this:—

Πάμπρα(ς), Σιμῶνος κατεπάγῃ(?)π[ῦρ?] βασιλειον.

"Pampras, may he bring down [fire?] on the palace of Simon" [or "may he follow up with fire" (*κατοπάζῃ πῦρι*), or "bring down fighting" (*πυγμήν*)].

The inscription is therefore an imprecation, scratched on a building-stone by one Pampras, and built into the structure for

which the stone was intended, no doubt in the hope that it would prove effective in bringing down destruction of some sort upon it.

It is scarcely necessary to indicate the manifold interest of this graffito. Who Pampras was, and what was the reason for his spite, are questions that cannot be answered definitely, though it is possible to conjecture with a fair measure of probability. Very likely he was an adherent of the Syrians, possibly a follower of Bacchides who for the year preceding Simon's victory had held the city. That the capitulation described in the passage quoted at the commencement of this report was as unanimous as it would appear from the description to be, need not be assumed; no doubt there were many in the city who resented being turned out of their homes in order that Simon and his Puritan followers might destroy all the household gods. No doubt those who in any way showed their resentment at such summary treatment would be marked, and perhaps compelled to extra hard task-work in whatever forced labour the repair of the walls and the construction of Simon's dwelling-place would involve. It would be only natural that Simon, though in general "reconciled" to the city, should have not a few individual secret enemies within it, of whom we may assume that Pampras was one.

The formula adopted by Pampras for his curse, and the curious diagrams with which he accompanied it, are deserving of study and comparison with other recorded instances, if any. For this investigation I have no materials at hand, and I therefore pass it by for the present. The practice of building an imprecation into the walls of a house is not without parallel, but here in Abû Shûsheh with a limited library I can recollect and quote no other concrete instances. It may incidentally be noticed as being a converse to the earlier practice of foundation sacrifice, which has already been abundantly illustrated at Gezer, and which was no doubt meant essentially to bring good luck to the building and to its inhabitants.

But the chief importance of the fragment lies, of course, in the mention of Simon—the first contemporary allusion yet found to any of the Maccabeans—and in the identification which it affords of his dwelling-place with the castle in which the stone was found. It appears from the remains that the "dwelling-place" was a far more elaborate structure than the modest reference to it in the Book of Maccabees would lead us to suppose, and we are now in a position

to gather something of the internal arrangements of a large Palestinian palace of the Maccabean period.

The imprecation of Pampras was not the only inscription found in the ruins. Two other fragments have been discovered, unimportant in themselves, but holding out hopes of more interesting epigraphic discoveries to follow, before the investigation of the castle is complete. The first is a small wedge-shaped fragment of limestone, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, bearing a few letters of an inscription in capitals of more formal and monumental character than the Pampras graffito; though small ($\frac{3}{4}$ inch high) the characters are well and clearly cut, it seems to be a fragment of some such architectural detail as an inscribed lintel, the lettering on which was carved on a panel sunk a quarter of an inch in its face. Fragments of two lines remain; the surviving letters are . . . ΑΣΙ . . . . | . . . . Ο?Ν . . . . The Pampras inscription suggests β)ΑΣΙ(λειον, "palace," as a likely restoration of the upper line, in which case we may be in possession of a scrap of the dedicatory or explanatory inscription over the entrance to the castle. So far, a special search instituted for other fragments of the same stone has been unsuccessful.

The other inscription is a single line of Greek uncial characters, cut on a building-stone resembling that used by Pampras. Unfortunately it was scratched on the edge, which is much chipped, so that a few letters are lost, and the whole, as it remains, is to me unintelligible. Above it is a series of lines of the same general character as those accompanying the Pampras inscription. The letters I can make out are Α . . . . ΙΨΝΚΑΖΜΕΙΤΑ+, which afford quite a sufficient mental exercise for those interested in resolving epigraphic mysteries.

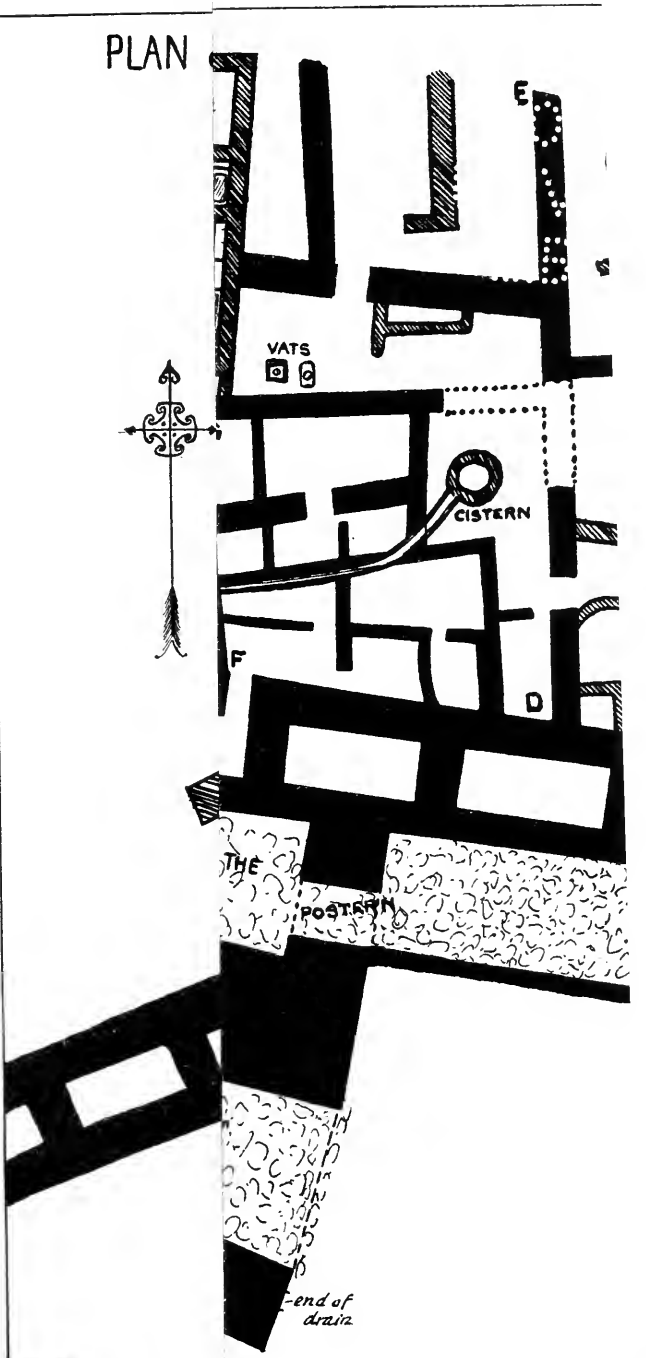
We may now proceed to a description of the castle itself so far as it has been uncovered. I cannot yet give its extreme dimensions; the excavation has not advanced far enough. This will be understood when I explain that the part already exposed measures 256 by 176 feet, which is roughly about four-fifths the size of the whole of the city of Marissa, on the summit of Tell Sandahannah. A plan of the part thus far excavated is, however, forwarded, as without it the descriptive details now to be given would not be intelligible. (*See* Plate II.)

The entrance to the castle seems to be about the middle of the southern side of the structure. It is in the centre of a tower AB,

and is approached by a short straight sloping pavement C. This pavement is divided from the public causeway by a short dwarf wall, and, as I said in the last report (though, perhaps, I did not express my meaning clearly enough) the slope of the two pavements is so different that there is no point where they approach together in which the levels correspond sufficiently to allow us to suppose that there was any connection between them. In short, no one wishing to enter the castle would be able to do so with ease, if at all, from the public causeway. I suspect the latter was still further shut off from the castle by a parapet, a possible course for which is indicated on the plan. The private causeway disappears outside the limits of the tower, but there are not wanting indications that originally it was approached from a direction opposite to the ascent to the public causeway; the former being approached from the east, the latter from the west. The chief indication lies in two small breaks in the cement lining of the drain running westward, which are seemingly the traces of a little bridge that here crossed the drain. If this bridge did not lead up to the castle gate it has no apparent purpose.

The gate itself is 9 feet 2 inches wide in the clear. The hinge and bolt-holes of double doors remain just inside the threshold. The threshold stone has a similar hole on the outer upright face, showing that it was taken from some earlier doorway. This is a striking illustration of the inveterate utilitarianism that has characterised the inhabitants of Palestine from the first. When a building has served its purpose it is promptly and remorsely turned into a quarry, and no one seems to care in the slightest, if some trace of the earlier function of a re-used building-stone remain conspicuous, even if it be, as in the present case, an unsightly intrusion on the architectural effect of the new building. Even in the enclosure known as Râmet el-Khulil though nowhere in the country is there so careful and costly a piece of architectural work, three or four old threshold-stones are much in evidence in the masonry, without the slightest expense having been incurred in removing their now purposeless cuttings, though they impart a certain "cheapness" to the work by their mere existence.

I have spoken in the last report of the drainage system that radiates from the gateway, and have at present nothing to add to the description there given. The source of the large drain *cc* has not yet been determined; at the moment of writing it is being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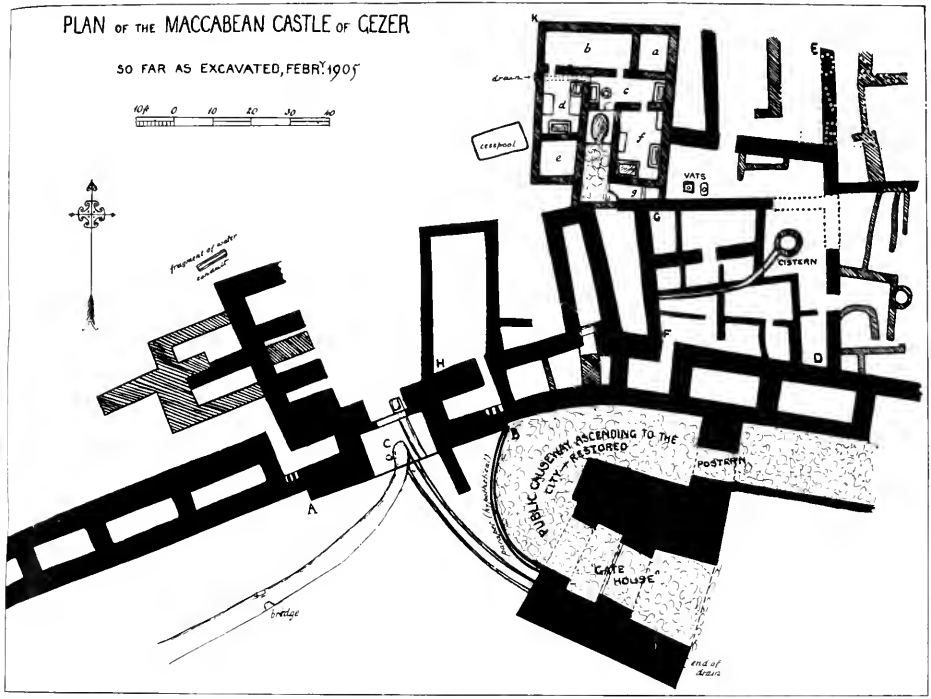
end of
drain


PLAN OF THE MACCABEAN CASTLE OF GEZER
SO FAR AS EXCAVATED, FEBRY. 1905
10ft 0 10 20 30 40
drain
cesspool
VATS
CISTERN
fragment of water conduit
PUBLIC CAUSEWAY ASCENDING TO THE CITY — RESTORED
POSTERN
GATE HOUSE
bridge
end of drain
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
K

traced. The small drain ζζ (these letters refer to the plan published with the last report) is meant to carry rainwater from the court inside the gate. It stops internally a foot or two after passing under the threshold. As the opening would be large enough for a boy to squeeze through, who could then open the gates for enemies outside, the drain has been blocked immediately inside the door by a large stone, which effectually prevents anyone coming through, while it is no obstacle for water to run away, as it does not fit closely.

The gateway leads into a large courtyard which the presence of the drain just mentioned, and the constructions surrounding the space, show to have been open to the sky. The area is irregular, and its northern limit has not yet been determined. It is at present known to be 40 feet north to south, and about 25 feet in width. Probably it extends for another 40 feet northward, in which case it would be terminated in that direction by the great reservoir opened and cleared at the beginning of last year.

The masonry of the castle is of three different kinds. At the gateway the stones are more carefully squared and fitted than anywhere else on the mound, the only masonry that may be superior to it being that of the sepulchral monument mentioned at the foot of p. 337 of the last volume of the *Quarterly Statement*. The stones of the gateway itself are dressed smooth; in the flanking towers bossed stones make their appearance. A few of these have the same mason's mark, in the same place (on the marginal draft) as was observed on stone found in the great well-shaft on the Eastern Hill. Secondly, the curious bath system is wholly built of the limestone "bricks" described above when dealing with the inscription of Pampras. Thirdly, the rest of the building is composed of rough walls resembling in general character those of the rest of the city, though, perhaps, of rather larger stones than usual, set in mud instead of mortar.

A glance at the plan will show that the exposed area of the castle is divided into certain sub-divisions. There is first a row of chambers along the outer wall, and the enclosed area is cut up by thick cross walls. It may be confessed at once that in one respect the excavation has so far proved disappointing; the castle was so thoroughly looted before it was covered up that almost nothing has as yet been found within it. A record is being kept, with particulars of the room in which each object is found; but practically the

record consists of nothing but pottery of the period, a few small scraps of Greek bowls, some Rhodian jar-handles, and a few bronze and iron arrowheads of commonplace late types. One or two animal figures, and (more curious), a small fragment of a statuette of the Cyprian Astarte, were unexpected objects to find in such a place; they probably belong to later or earlier occupations, and have become mixed with the castle débris. These finds are too slight to upset the identification of the castle with that of the Puritan Simon, In small antiquities this has been the least prolific quarter of the whole excavation.

This absence of antiquities makes it impossible to assign uses to the majority of the chambers that we find inside the castle, and to the detriment of the interest of the discovery, reduces the fortress to a series of more or less meaningless rooms, opening off one another. Many of the chambers, on this account, call for no description at all; a glance at the plan will tell the reader everything he can know about them.

It will be noticed that there are no doorways apparent to the majority of the chambers in the row along the outer wall. This may be explained in two ways. Either we have the foundations only, the wall being ruined below the level of the thresholds; or the chambers were mere devices for obtaining an enormously thick wall with small expenditure of materials. Probably the former is the more likely view, though it is not altogether easy to explain the fact that doorways remain in some cases and not in all, the level of the walls being the same throughout. Moreover, it is not always safe to assume, in Palestinian buildings, that there was *any* masonry below the threshold, as often the foundations themselves are interrupted underneath a doorway.

An exactly similar row of chambers is to be seen in the guard-house of Marissa, excavated by the officers of the Fund at Tell Sandaḥannah. For this parallel structure, *see* the plan facing p. 326 of the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1900, and the accompanying descriptive letterpress.

In describing the rest of the internal arrangements of the castle, I shall for the present confine myself to the eastern side of the gateway. The excavation of the western side has not sufficiently advanced to enable me to say anything definite about the structures there. In passing, the guess may be recorded that the stall-like spaces to the left of the entrance are porters' lodges or guard-rooms.

To the right is a long narrow chamber, set askew to the general axis of the castle, in which respect it is not unique. I may say that all the important lines in the accompanying plan have been determined with a prismatic compass, and not by mere triangulating from chamber to chamber; the latter process in a complex building like this, is apt to lead to a multiplication of small errors that in time become serious. Thus the skew direction of certain of the walls, though peculiar, may be depended upon as accurate. This long chamber, it will be noticed, has no visible doorway of its own, yet it communicates by an inner door with the tower chamber right of the entrance gate. The tower chamber, whose plaster-lined floor remained, was at a lower level than the outer chamber; descent was effected by a slope, perhaps with some wooden stair in addition;

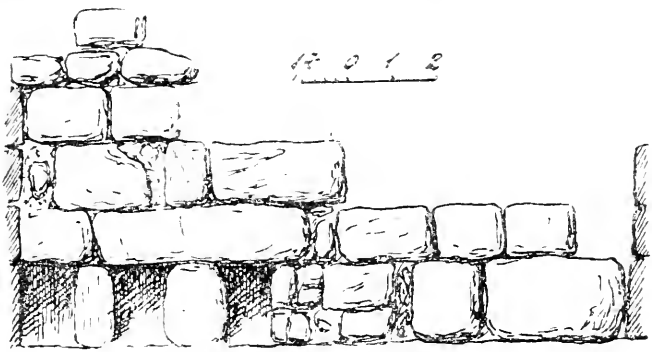
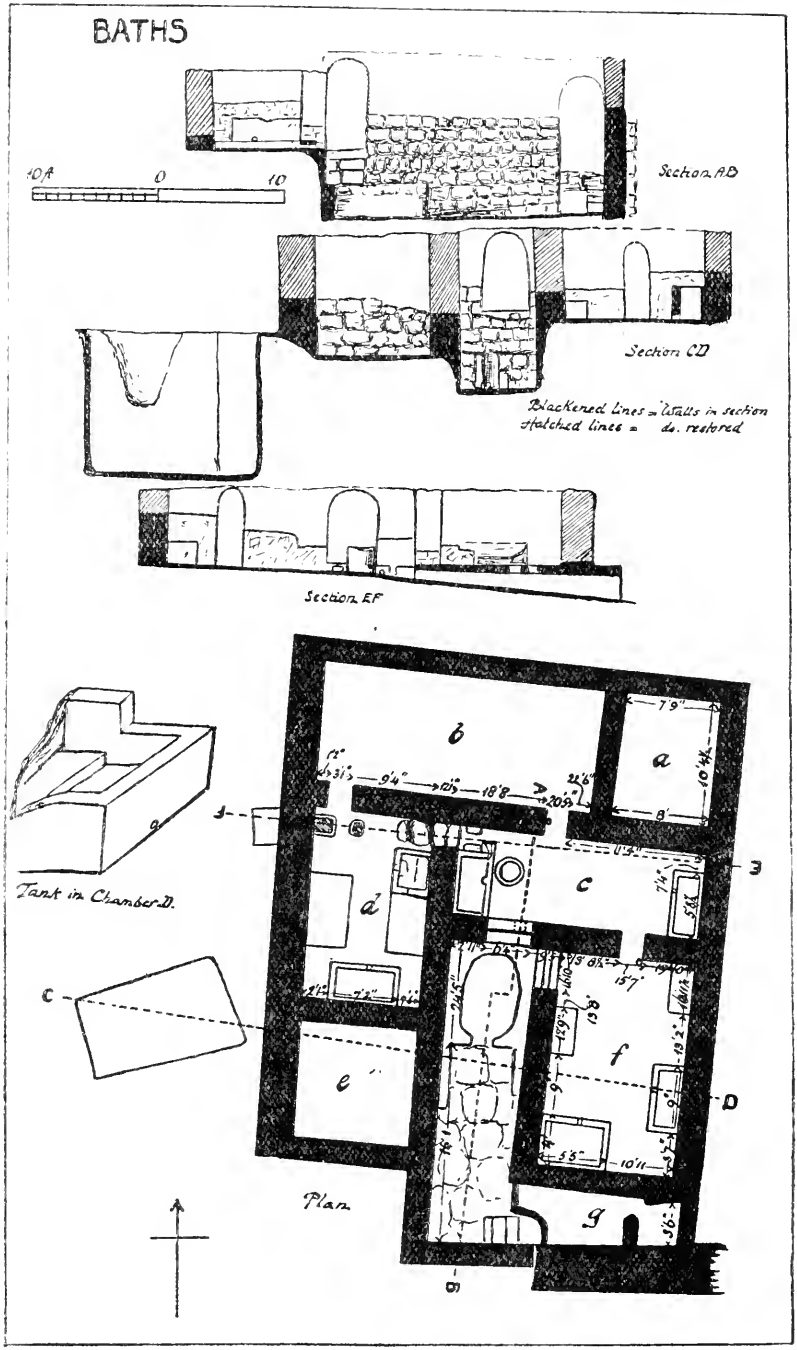
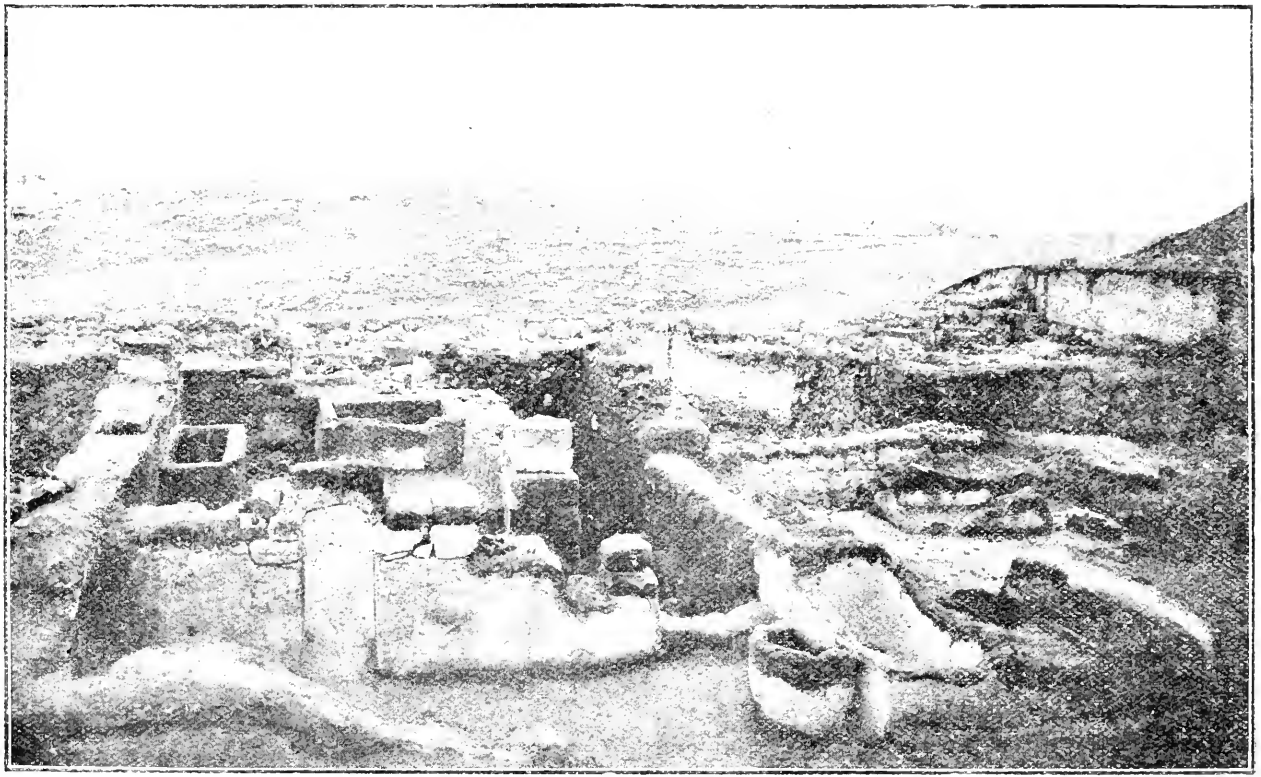


FIG. 2.—Masonry of Eastern Tower Chamber.

and there may have been a similar short staircase mounting the wall of the outer chamber to the door which, perhaps, to keep rainwater from entering the room, was raised above the level of the entrance courtyard. It is worth noticing that nowhere has any trace of a stairway been found, or any evidence whatever that there was an upper story to any part of the castle.

The tower chamber to which this room gives access has a peculiarity shared by the corresponding room at the other side. This is a row of three small shafts, entering the other wall horizontally at the level of the floor. A detailed drawing of the masonry of the south wall of the western tower chamber is forwarded (Fig. 2), showing these shafts in position. They are like nothing so much as miniature *kôk*-graves. Their height is 1 foot 10 inches, their breadth about 1 foot, or an inch or two more or


BATHS
10 ft 0 10
Section AB
Section CD
Blackened lines = Walls in section
Hatched lines = do. restored
Section EF
Tank in Chamber D.
Plan
a
b
c
d
e
f
g
A
B
C
D



View (from the North) of the Series of Baths recently discovered in the Castle at Gezer.

less, their depth about 2 feet 4 inches. Their purpose is a complete mystery, unless they were secret store-cupboards, that could be closed by a short stone. Nothing but one or two potsherds was found inside them.

Proceeding eastward, and confining our attention for the present to the section of the castle marked diagonally GH on the plan, we notice first that the wall chamber next to the tower chamber has been divided in two by a brick partition. This apparently is an addition to the original scheme, and has therefore been hatched, not blackened in, in the plan. Next to this is an apartment whose special function it is very hard to realise. It is a long, narrow passage, about 22 feet 6 inches in length and 5 feet in breadth, evidently belonging to the castle, as its very thick walls are bonded with those of the castle, but sunk to a rather lower level than the rest of the building. At the south end, and at the top of the wall in its present state of ruin, is a small square opening bridged by a lintel stone. Behind this opening is a small platform, surrounded by thick walls, one of which (that to the south), seems an insertion. This platform was found full of ashes, and there was every sign that it was a furnace; but there was nothing to show for what purpose a furnace was required in this place.

The rest of the section GH calls for no comment, as the plan is self-explanatory; we therefore proceed to the section GK to the north, which is by far the most interesting of the whole complex.

It is an elaborate bath establishment; in describing it I refer to Plate III, which contains plan and sections to a larger scale than the general plan; and to Plate IV, which is a photographic view taken from the north. Seven chambers have been revealed, and there may be more still hidden under the uncut earth immediately to the north. These chambers are denoted in the plans by index letters which we shall use for reference. The dimensions are indicated on the larger plan, so that it is unnecessary to overload the description with figures.

The chambers are all, with the exception of *e*, paved and lined with cement; as a general rule, the angles of the chambers are rounded. The walls are built of limestone "bricks," laid in English bond. Voussoir stones were found fallen in some of them, showing that they had been roofed with a barrel vault.

Of the chambers, *a*, *b*, and *e* are empty. Each of the others, *c*, *d*, and *f*, contains two tanks. These are rectangular, and built of

stone, lined with cement containing many pebbles. The edges are chamfered, no doubt to prevent bathers hurting themselves on sharp corners. At the bottom is a small round escape hole which, when a plug was removed, allowed the waste water to run out on the floor. The floors are laid with a fall, so that the waste water is directed as a stream, from all the tanks, to a drain that opens under the doorway at the west end of *c*.

The tanks in *f*, the eastern tank in *e*, and the southern tank in *d*, are of this kind. The western tank in *e* is also similar, but is divided by a small pilaster of 6 inches projection, and about the same width, into two sub-divisions.

The eastern tank in *d* is altogether peculiar. Its small size, its being divided into two, the floor of one division being slightly raised above the other, and the armchair-like stepping of the sides, all suggest that it was meant for a bather to *sit* in, rather than to *lie* in like the rest. A drawing will be found on Plate III, from which the reader can judge for himself as to the possible purpose of this trough.

Chamber *f* contains, in addition to the tanks, two benches which, like the tanks, are built up of stone, and covered with cement. There are two rectangular breaks in the cement floor of *d*, showing that here, too, there was something additional to the tanks there contained. These were probably benches also, but every vestige of them has disappeared.

Chamber *e* has no benches, but it possesses a circular vat about 2 feet 6 inches in diameter. This is peculiar in having no outlet, and in being cut out of a block of stone, not built up and faced with cement. Moreover, it is movable—not fixed to the floor. Possibly it is a later addition. It may have been meant to hold cold water for the person using the bath immediately adjacent to pour over himself.

The drain mentioned above runs through chamber *d*, just under its floor at the northern end. It is partly roofed with cover-slabs embedded in cement, and partly open to allow of the water from the tanks in *d* finding its way into it. The drain stops short just outside the wall of *d*, which is the outer wall of the bath system, and does not appear ever to have gone further. It certainly has no connection with the sewers running from the castle gate. The drain, just before its end, turns southward slightly, as though to direct the waste water in that direction. It is fairly certain that

the fall of the surface on the ground caused the water to continue flowing southward, and to be intercepted by a deep tank sunk below the level of the baths. This tank is cement-lined, and, so far as I can see, serves no purpose if it be not a cesspool for the waste water from the baths; but what was done when the cesspool filled does not appear—it must have been baled out by hand, for there is no outlet.

Between chambers *d* and *f* there is a passage sunk at a level lower than that of the baths, which displays several interesting details. In clearing it out, stones were found to have fallen into it *in long rows*. These almost certainly were flattened-out vaulting, whereby the passage was originally roofed.

There are two doors leading down to this passage, from *e* and *f* respectively. That from *e* has a small opening under the threshold. From *f* there are three steps leading down. At the northern end there is an oval enclosure, which must have been a heating furnace, as ashes were found filling it. Perhaps the orifice under the threshold was to admit hot air: it may be an elementary substitute for the hypocaust of a Roman bath.

North of the furnace the passage continues till it passes the angle of chamber *f*. It is paved with broad, flat flagstones, such as have been found nowhere else on the *tell*. After passing *f*, it returns eastward, and rises by three steps to a retired corner that almost certainly was a *latrina*.

It is an interesting but difficult question whether the bath system here described be intrinsically part of the castle, or a later and independent structure altogether. Three arguments suggest themselves in favour of the latter view, but they can all be met by counter-arguments. First, the masonry is of different character to the rest of the castle; but such "bricks" (including the two inscribed examples) have been found elsewhere in the castle débris, even if none remain *in situ*. It is possible, also, that the highly-specialised purpose of the block of bath-rooms involved a special form of construction. Secondly, the bath-room walls are nowhere bonded to the rest of the castle walls, but, when they meet, butt against them. This, however, is a necessary result of the change of masonry. The most cogent argument is the circumstance, that will be evident from an inspection of the general plan of the castle, that in one place the bath walls are superposed to undoubted castle walls. The underlying castle walls are, however, as I have already

said, sunk at a lower level than usual, and it must first be proved that they were not the walls of cellars. Still, as the doubt exists, I have hatched the whole bath system in the general plan of the castle, rather than blacking it in.

In the rest of the castle there is nothing as yet found comparable in interest with this section. The group of chambers, EG (*see* Plate II), contains nothing remarkable, except a couple of stone vats of common type, connected no doubt with the pressing of olives or of grapes. These may possibly also be of later date: a brick pit-oven close by, not indicated on the plan, is certainly subsequent; so is a water-channel shown running to a cistern mouth in the section DG. The cistern may be original: I have not yet cleared it.

West of the long wall, DE, a few feet only have been cleared. Nothing but the squalid walls shown in the plan was found; I doubt if these have anything to do with the castle.

It may be surprising at first that there should be any walls at all subsequent to a castle built by Simon Maccabæus on a site that must have been abandoned before the introduction of Roman civilisation into the country. But for one lucky chance it would be quite unintelligible, and the fact of the existence of such later structures—which I was compelled to admit to myself, much against my will, and only after every possible alternative explanation had been considered and abandoned—far more than the accidental deposition of one or two idolatrous objects within the walls, would have militated against the identification that I have tried to uphold. This chance is the preservation by Josephus of the correspondence between Hyrcanus and the Roman Senate. Professor Clermont-Ganneau has already shown us that this document proves that not long after the closing of the history of the First Book of Maccabees the coveted city of Gezer once more passed into Syrian hands, and Simon's work was undone. As no direct account of its recapture has been preserved for us, we are quite in the dark respecting the details of this event; but it is not unreasonable to suppose that one of the first acts of the Syrians would be to raze the castle whereby Simon had asserted his authority over the town. This is the best explanation that I can offer for the erection of a great fortress, for its destruction, and for the building of a second stratum of dwellings over its site during the comparatively brief space in which pottery of the characteristically "Seleucid" types was in

use. Pampras may easily have lived to see his desire upon his enemy.

I have no further details to add to this account of the quarter's work. It has been shortened and broken by the Christmas vacation and the rain-storms of winter, which this year have been unusually heavy and prolonged.

One or two more tombs of the second pre-Exilic period have been located and cleared. Nothing specially important has been found in them, except a secondary deposit in one, which is a historical document of some interest. This is a coin of Chosroes II, the Persian marauder; it was lying just under the surface of the earth in the tomb. The cave had been opened at some time, but the deposits, being covered with earth, were untouched. Whether we may infer from this coin that Chosroes or any of his followers turned their attention to Gezer is questionable; but the coin may be an indication of the remote date at which tomb-opening began in the district, and so make us all the more thankful that so much remained to reward the excavator last summer.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to say a few more words respecting the inscribed weights which have been a subject of controversy in recent numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*. I am bound to confess that I cannot understand Professor Sayce's comment on my remarks. If *ro* be the name of a weight, I cannot see that an object bearing that name, without numerical qualification, can be supposed to weigh anything but just one *ro*. If its weight were any fraction or multiple of that standard, a numerical sign *must* be inserted. Could a modern weight bearing merely the word "ounce" be ever taken to be anything but *one* ounce?

Through the kindness of Dr. Masterman, who writes to me from Berlin, I am able to contribute some important additional details regarding the series of weights, adding at least one numerical sign to the system, and extending the region over which the cyphers were used.

Dr. Masterman sends me a description of a weight now in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. I may quote from his letter:— "The weight is the shape and about the size of that figured on p. 209 of the *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, and the incised inscription is as follows: 𐤅𐤑. Through the courtesy of Herr Direktor

Friedländer, who has charge of the new Kaiser Friedrich Museum, I have obtained the exact weight; it is 32·41 grammes. He finds it comes from *Smyrna*, but has no other particulars. I should add that the weight evidently is *metal*, but of what composition I cannot say."

The amount given will very fairly fit into the series as *three* times the standard; so that if this Smyrna weight be really one of the series—and there seems no valid reason why it should not be—we gather the symbol for 3 to have been ∀ in the cypher system. It must not be overlooked, however, that the sign of the standard is on the wrong side of the numerical sign. This is not the case with another weight which Dr. Masterman has found in the Old Museum, Berlin, with a number of others, labelled "Roman Weights"; there are no further particulars. It is of similar character to, but twice the size of, the first weight. The inscription is, ⋈B. I have not yet ascertained the exact amount of this weight, which may possibly give us the sign for 6. The letters on both these weights, it is true, look like ordinary Greek numerals for *one* and *two* respectively; but against this interpretation it may be argued that the standard sign must, on such a hypothesis, be supposed to be inverted with regard to one or other of them. This is not likely, so that I still think it may be claimed among the results of the Gezer excavation that we have succeeded in formulating a series of numerical cyphers, used about the second century B.C. in the Levant, of which we have now obtained the symbols for 1, 2, 3, 4, 6 (?), and 8.[1]

[[1] It may be added that Mr. Crace has pointed out that the weight found in the Tyropœon (Bliss, *Jerusalem*, p. 267), weighing 2·921 ounces troy = 90·822 grammes, is precisely *ten times* the weight of the cypriote coin quoted by Professor Sayce (*Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 358), as marked *ba-si* on both sides, and weighing 9·81 grammes. This can scarcely be a mere coincidence.—Ed.]

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip G. Baldensperger, Esq.

(*Continued from "Quarterly Statement,"* 1905, *p.* 38.)

Besides the rifle, the natives also have pistols, and though the new and lighter breech-loaders are becoming very common, they still prefer the old arms, which they call fellah arms. These are inlaid and ornamented with designs of various kinds and material. Thus, the barrel of the rifles has sometimes a silver coating, which is called *mujâhar* (مجوهر), a feeble survival of the priceless arms with which Orientals always liked to adorn themselves. The butt-end, *ḳa'ab* (قعب), is much narrower than that of the modern rifle, and is usually ornamented with mother-of-pearl.

Their swords are of two kinds—one with the edge on the concave, the other with it on the convex, part. The *sîrem*, with the sharp edge in the concave curve, has a hilt of wood or horn, with the end projecting on both sides, so as to prevent it slipping out of the hand when a good stroke has to be made. The *sayf* (سيف) is a common sword with the hilt, *sayfân* (سيفان), protected by one single bow. The sheath, *ḳerâb*, is of two pieces of hard wood, over which a skin is drawn, often with the hair still adhering.

The *sîrem* is stuck into the girdle with the hilt, *neṣâb*, inclined to the right; but as it is about 2 feet long, it is not drawn from the sheath whilst it is in the girdle, but the whole is taken out before it is unsheathed. The *sayf* is hung upon a thick woollen and hair band or leather belt, which is thrown over the shoulder, and the sword dangles on the right thigh.

The dagger of the fellahîn is invariably the two-edged *shibrîye*[*t*], curved, and varying from one to two spans. *Shibr* means a span, and was, perhaps, originally the measure of this dagger. The *shibrîye*[*t*] in its sheath is fastened to the girdle by the right thigh. The sheath is covered with brass bands, as well as the hilt. Of such a kind, perhaps, was the two-edged sword which Ehud girded on his right thigh to stab Eglon (Judges iii, 16).

The fellah has always some kind of weapon (*s'lih*) about him, and in former times he would enter the town arrayed with all his arms. Nowadays they are not allowed thus to enter the gates of Jerusalem, but must deposit them outside. The *dabbûs*, however, which is of wood, is not prohibited; on its use see *Quarterly Statement*, p. 36. When David came to Nob without a weapon, he applied to Abimelech, who gave him Goliath's sword (1 Samuel xxi, 8, 9), which David accepted thankfully. Weapons were always dangerous in the hands of the public, and the Government has been obliged at times to gather them in, or to prohibit their use; on other occasions they have been distributed among the people. Daher, the Bedawy Pasha of Acca, armed the Bedu with fire-arms; Ibrahim Pasha, of Egypt, gathered in as many as he could in 1834 to quell rebellion, and even impounded a certain number yearly, which were afterwards bought back at very high prices. The succeeding Government distributed arms after the retreat of the Egyptians, but were obliged to collect them again after the events of 1860. One is reminded of the policy of the Philistines in prohibiting arms in the days of Saul (1 Samuel xiii, 19). In the days of King Hezekiah arms were gathered at Jerusalem to withstand the Assyrians (2 Chron. xxxii, 5), but again under Nebuchadnezzar all arms were confiscated. It was one of the greatest calamities to be deprived of weapons, as the words of Ezekiel show (xxxix, 9).

When the fellahîn were deprived of their weapons, and could not manage to have them returned, they alleged that a wild beast called the *shibe*[*t*] (شيبة), or leaper, was making inroads upon them. The animal was said to have been seen in the Jordan Valley about the years 1865–66, and to have come from the north somewhere about the Euphrates, and was tearing and devouring flocks and herds, then children, and finally grown-up people. Some supposed that a great fire on the Euphrates drove the lions from the jungles, others that it was merely a trick of the fellah. It was said to have been of the size of a donkey, slender, and yellow in colour, but possessing a female figure. In consequence of it the Government, who since the recent civil wars had prohibited the sale of arms, now allowed them to be sold again, but still kept in force the prohibition against carrying them in the streets of towns. The fellahîn now only bear fire-arms when they leave the

towns to go to the desert districts, but they regularly carry their powder-horn hanging at the hook of the girdle.

Even under the Roman rule swords at least were tolerated, and nobody went out without them. There is an illustration of this in the familiar passage, Luke xxii. 35–38.

We shall now turn to the family and social life of the fellaḥîn. The fellaḥ woman rises at about two o'clock in the morning, and having lit her small lamp sits down to grind with her leg bared to stretch it along the fixed mill, and as no man is up at such an early hour she removes her veil, thus *uncovering the locks*, which the prophet (Isaiah xlvii. 2) deems so degrading to the daughters of Zion. Certainly if the prophet himself were one of the Royal family there would be no women in the house to grind, for in towns, at the present day at least, the meal is sent to the horse-mills. As soon as the woman begins turning the millstones and putting in the grains she begins "to sing" in a rather monotonous wailing tone (Eccl. xii. 4). The fellaḥîn have little variety of tone in their voice for joy or for sorrow, and the difference is scarcely perceptible save to an accustomed ear. The lively songs, when the women dance around the graves, seem even more tuneful than the wailing and mournful praises at the marriage ceremonies. When there are two women of course they grind the flour together; they do not disturb the sleepers, who are quite within reach. No singing in the morning is a "desolation," as it was in the days of Jeremiah, who treats the silence of the millstones and the darkened room as a calamity (c. xxv. 10). About daybreak they leave the mill and knead the dough. This is in summer; in winter the dough is already prepared overnight to leaven the whole lump. When the dough is ready it is carried to the heated oven and baked in from 10 to 15 minutes, and brought home. By this time the head of the family has risen from sleep, and has said his morning prayers. He gets ready for his work in the field, and the boys have also each some daily task. The eldest may help the father ploughing or gardening, the second is the shepherd of the flocks, the third drives out the kids, a girl takes the donkey to graze about the village grounds. About 10 o'clock breakfast, *ṣâbûḥ* (صابوح), is ready, a few loaves of bread and some "dipping" *ghemâs* (غماس), which may be oil, honey, treacle, milk, vegetables, &c.; in fact, any food with the bread is called "dipping," no matter

how little it is adapted for the purpose. The woman carries it to the field at the appointed "meal time" (*mî'âd es-subûḥ*), and all gather round and eat hastily and then return to work again. Boaz tells Ruth: "*At meal-time* come and eat thy bread, and dip thy morsel in *ḥômeṣ* (vinegar)." When the fellah woman comes home she proceeds to fetch water from the spring in the *kirbe*[*t*], this she carries on her back with the supporting band round her forehead.[1] If she has a jar she puts it on her head, and without steadying it with her hands will climb the worst roads, rarely slipping or upsetting the jar. At the water she washes her face, arms, and legs, and as she is always barefooted she has no need to dry them. The "washing" is also carried to the spring, and after being thrown in the water is drawn out one piece after another, and rubbed and beaten on a flat stone with a stick (*mirḥâd*), and then put to dry on bushes or on rocks with small pebbles to keep them in place. It is now high time to prepare the dinner, and as the women have neither matches nor tinder they go to their neighbour and bring a burning coal on a potsherd (*see* Isaiah xxx, 14) to light the fire, with a little straw and pieces of thorn bush, on which the stouter logs are put, as the "crackling of these thorns" (Eccl. vii, 6) do not last long enough to prepare the food.[2]

I will now give a brief notice of some of their queer notions regarding prohibited food, and of the food which they eat but which are not eaten by Christians and townspeople. Boars and pigs are prohibited by all, but they will eat a piece of pork (preferably from the wild animal) to stave off fever. Fish are eaten only by the inhabitants of the villages near the sea, and by some Bedu. These villagers also eat the dry herring *f'sîkh* (فسيخ), but the mountain villagers consider them as little better than carcases. Reptiles are not eaten as a rule, but the Rasheidy and Ta'amry Arabs eat the *ṭab* (Uromastix spinipes) found about the Dead Sea regions. Once when Dr. Schmidt and Mr. Lange of Ḥaifa heard of a crocodile having been captured in the Zerka River they went to secure the animal, but could only recover the tail; the captors had feasted on the meat. Serpents are eaten by the Dervishes of the Erfa'i order in accordance with the command of their uncle (*'Am*), the founder of the order, as they told me. They cut away about a span at the

[1] *See Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 54.

[2] For the dishes which are used, *see Quarterly Statement*, 1904, pp. 262 *sqq*.

head and a span at the tail. Camels are eaten by Moslems but not by Christians. Hyænas, porcupines, badgers, and hares are eaten, but the hyænas only by Moslems. Wolves, jackals, and foxes are declared unclean because they eat carcases, but as the hyæna also eats carcases they excuse themselves by saying, "He chews the cud once a year." As foxes eat fruit, they sometimes eat them also. Birds are eaten almost without exception, and though ravens, vultures, and eagles are feeders on carrion and are considered unclean, they will eat them when they accidentally happen to kill one. Falcons eat only live birds, and are therefore *ḥallâl* (حلال). An exception is the kestrel, *ṣ'ḳîr* (صقير), which eats mice and lizards.

Certain birds are sacred, and are not to be killed: the swallow, for visiting the Ka'aba; the pelican, for having carried water at the building of the Ka'aba; the stork, and the laughing turtle nestling on the Haram in Jerusalem; but their meat is edible, and if without intention of killing them they get hold of one, they will feed on it. All migratory birds, *ṭiyûr il-baḥr* (طيور البحر), are allowed to be eaten.

When dinner is over the women make their toilet, with an occasional combing of the hair, which, for reasons I need not specify, is extremely necessary. A few clothes are made by them, and some spin, but this is more the work of Bedu women. The women take an active part in selling the produce of the field and flocks, as they are more patient carrying the loads on their heads or in driving the donkeys, and awaiting customers in the markets. The women of Bethlehem are well known in Jerusalem as sellers of articles in mother-of-pearl, *ṣadaf* (صدف), which their husbands make at home; those of Siloam, Malha, and Lifta are known for their milk, water, and vegetables, &c.

The children to the age of eight or ten run about the streets and play at "seek and find" or "war," or marbles, &c., as already stated in a previous chapter. The village schools introduced 12 years ago have not been followed very assiduously; the teachers, who are paid very little by the Government, may receive gifts of bread and fruits from the boys, but in most places they are almost neglected.

The women of the different houses meet together, every one with her sewing or spinning, late in the afternoon to a kind of

"*tabûn* meeting," corresponding to our "tea meeting" or "five o'clock tea," and exchange the news of the principal events, and the tidings which they have heard in the towns or villages.

When the men are not at work, *e.g.*, on rainy days, or when the weather is not favourable, they gather either in the house or in a public meeting room to talk over the news. They smoke their arghileh and prepare coffee. The fellaḥîn (except in Christian villages, and even they are very sober) never drink wine or strong drinks, nor anything save water after their regular meals. The coffee drinking is almost a religious act. Only a man can prepare the coffee, and it must be done with the greatest care. The grains are roasted in the coffee pan (*meḥmâṣe[t]*), and when they are half roasted they are pounded in the wooden or stone mortar; then the coffee-pot (*buḳraj*) is put on the fire, whilst the rhythmical pounding goes on with the enormous pestle (*meḥbûsh*), often weighing six or seven pounds. When the coffee boils it is taken away, then put a second time, and again a third time on the fire. The first cup of coffee is poured into the ashes for the Sheikh esh-Shâdhilly. Who is this Shâdhilly? Or what has he to do with the coffee? Was he the one who brought the coffee to Palestine? He would, therefore, be prior to the Sheikh of Yémen—Shéhab-ed-Dîn Dhabany, who brought coffee from Abyssinia in the middle of the fifteenth century—for according to Ibn-Batûtâ, Shâdhilly was dead before his days, and he was in Egypt in the beginning of the twelfth century (1325 A.D.). He says—"In Alexandria I heard the Litany of 'Abu-l Ḥass esh-Shâdhilly (الشاذلي ابو الحسن), who, having made several pilgrimages to Mecca, knew that he was going to die at Ḥomaithra (حميثرا), in Saïd (Upper Egypt), took with him a hoe, a basket, and aromatic herbs for his burial. On his grave is written all his genealogy down to Ḥassan, the son of 'Ali 'Am (علي عم).

In the Litany of Esh Shâdhilly it says—"Put into our service this sea, as Thou hast put the sea under command of Moses, O Lord (*'Am*)! . . . the flames, &c., as unto Abraham, O Lord! The iron and the mountain . . . as unto David, O Lord! The wind, devil, and genii . . . as unto Solomon, O Lord! . . . the water . . . as unto Ṣuki, O Lord! The fire . . . as unto Bedawy, O Lord! The iron . . . as unto 'Abd-el-ḳader, O Lord! The poison . . . as unto Erfa'i, O Lord! . . ," and so forth. Though nothing is said about the coffee in the Litany it is likely that the

same Shâdhilly is meant, as though this most venerable Sheikh were associated with the coffee. The exclamation, *'Am*, at the end of every invocation means he is a *Lord*, or a founder of some order having a standard. We know that the above named have their standards.

When the coffee is poured out, a cup is handed to the eldest or more honoured guest, then a second cup, and then the other members. Women of a certain age also drink coffee, but not the young and the children. A third cup is offered, but is almost considered a hostile act. The saying is, "The first [cup] for the guest, the second for enjoyment, the third for war" (الاول للضيف . والثاني للكيف . والثالث للسيف).

Guests are not questioned as to who they are or where they come from, and what their business or errand may be. Fellaḥ etiquette requires no introduction, but in course of conversations touching this and that motive they may find out the home, and finally the name, of everyone. Should this be known, a new kind of greeting begins: praises about the kindred; deeds of valour in the days of civil war under Lahem and Abu Ghosh; daring acts against Ibrahim Pasha, the Egyptian invader; and the vile present, where every notable fellaḥ of high descent has to submit to the ill-treatment of some Kurd gendarme (*shâdermâ*, a corruption of gendarme).

The fellaḥ does not willingly give in marriage to or take from the Madani, the greatest insult to a fellaḥ being to have to submit to the pantaloons which a town-wife would require him to put on, and such a one is only considered as half a fellaḥ or, at least, as a degraded one.

Fellaḥîn hospitality is well known, but, as already mentioned, it is more generally practised in the south of Jerusalem, and some of the more generous fellaḥîn, who glory in the title of *Jeyyed* (جيّد), ruin themselves by giving suppers to friends or passers-by. There is generally a guest's house (*maḍâfe*[*t*], also called صاحة, *ṣâḥa*[*t*]), in the village, and the guardian is supposed to know whose turn it is to furnish bread, coffee, tobacco, and the sacrifice. But either from pride, or from thirst for praise, some are zealous enough, as soon as they see strangers approaching the village, to go to meet them, and swear "by divorce" or "by their arm"

that the supper is to be at their expense.[1] The guests are installed according to their rank. When all are seated the conversation is carried on, not on the subject of the visit, for it is now even as in Samuel's day, "ye shall eat with me to-day (no drinking of wine in Samuel's house), and to-morrow I will let thee go, and will tell thee all that is in thine heart" (I Sam. ix, 19). The sheep or goat is always called a sacrifice, *dhabîḥa*. It is "killed" in view of the guests, with the neck turned to the ḳiblah, and the throat is cut "in the name of the merciful and compassionate God." It is quickly skinned whilst hanging against the wall. The inner parts are all put away, and eaten afterwards in the family; the lungs, liver, and heart are never put before the guests, and the stomach is carefully emptied, washed at the spring or well, and stuffed with rice and small pieces of meat, also only for family use. It is considered shameful to present this to any guest. The animal is now cut judiciously into such pieces as can be presented and eaten by one guest. The whole of this work is done by an expert cook, who is the organiser of the reception. Three or four hours after the arrival of the guests the rice is brought in in wooden bowls and set before the guests, with bread. The pieces of meat are now distributed to the guests, and each guest, according to his rank, receives a piece equal in size, but considered to be of different degrees of honour and delicacy in flavour. The pieces, in order of merit, are:—

1. The ilium (الشدد *ish-shadâ*)
2. The neck (الرقبة *ir-raḳabe*[*t*])
3. The breast (القس *el-ḳass*)

These three pieces are always presented to the three first, and alternate in value in different places.

4. The femur (thigh) (مكسر الورك *miksar el-werk*).
5. The tibia (leg) (المعلق *il-mi'alaḳ*).
6. The scapula (shoulder) (الالواح *el-alwâḥ*).
7. The humerus (arm) (مكسر اليد *miksar el-yad*). The bone must be broken, and a piece of meat added to it.

The unbroken humerus is called *d'râ el-bagha* (دراع البغة), and must not be offered, as it is considered humiliating. Another

[1] على الطلاك من مراتي, *'Alley it-ṭalâk min marâti*, or ومن ذراعي *min d'râ'i*, if unmarried.

piece, which would be held to give even greater offence, is the *tartûr esh-shandal* (ترتور الشندل), the last rib and cartilage. When Saul had been seated, Samuel asked the cook to bring forth the honoured piece, and gave him the shoulder (the Jews do not eat the hinder parts) The guest takes from the piece as much as he can carry off with his fingers, for he must never gnaw, and then hands it to some honoured man or member of the house, saying, "Here, O owner!" (خذ يا صاحبي) *kheth yâ mehilly.* The other guests, in like manner, give each of his unfinished portion to some member. Having finished the supper, every man rises from his place, thanking God, and drinking water at the end of the supper only. Squatting with both knees downwards, and with the legs gathered tailor-fashion, alone is the approved fashion when at table.

Squatting, called *turbia'*, because of its forming a "square," is the sacred posture; whilst the *takunbaz*, with the knees up, is profane, and never tolerated whenever any holy transaction is going on—as eating, measuring wheat, reading the Koran, &c. This kind of squatting is supposed to be the devil's mischievous position. Hands may, and in fact ought to be, washed in this position, after supper. Soap is usually employed, and for honoured guests, it must be a new piece. Towels are unknown.

Serious affairs are not spoken about until either after supper, or even the next morning, and then they part, after having arranged matters, without breakfast. This is quite an old custom, for when Abimelech came to Isaac, "he (Isaac) made them a feast, and they did eat and drink; and they *rose up betimes in the morning* and sware one to another: and Isaac sent them away (let them go), and they departed from him in peace" (Gen. xxvi, 30, 31).

Before sitting down to meals the guests all wash their hands, because spoons are not much in use, and although wooden ones are to be found in every house, they prefer to eat with the hands. By way of encouragement the supper-giver says, "Give grace to the merciful" (سمّي بالرحمان), which in plain English means, "eat (having said grace)." When supper is over, the men have their hands washed. For very aristocratic guests a bowl is brought to receive the water, flowing from the hands, for a decent fellah will never wash in standing water; water must flow over the hands till they are rubbed clean, first by soap and finally by water only. 'God reward you, O owner of the house," says the guest (*khalaf*

Allah aleyk yâ meḥilly), and the owner answers, "By your voice" (*allu ḥesak*). When drinking water, the guest must first say, "Thanks to God" (*il-ḥamdu lillah*), to which comes the reply, "May it have satisfied you" (*haniyân*). And again the drinker answers, "May God satisfy you" (*Allah yehanîk*). All these compliments and formulas are uttered and muttered in half undertones, and do not seem so cumbersome in real life as they do in a description, delivered, as they are, with perfect and enviable elegance.

The *chief meal* of the day is not necessarily the supper—it depends on circumstances, whether the members of the family be separated by their several employments or not. If the men work as day-labourers some miles away from home, then the supper, *'ashah* (عشا), is the most regular meal, but if they work round about the village, it is at dinner. In the fast of Ramaḍân the meals, of course, are changed. Heavy meals are taken as soon as the setting of the sun is announced by the voice of the *Khatîb*—that is, where they are so far away from the towns that they cannot hear the cannon-signal.

The long winter evenings are spent in games or story-telling; but the fellaḥîn are most fond of the long adventures of the warrior tribes in their migrations from Arabia, attacks from other tribes, love-romances, or semi-Biblical, semi-Mohammedanised stories about "Joseph and his brethren," "Job's patience," &c. These are declaimed by the bard, *sha'er* (شعر), to the accompaniment of his one-stringed fiddle (*rabâbe*[*t*]). The people often pass the whole night listening, when the poem is particularly captivating, but, as in old days, it is only such as are free of care who can enjoy them. "He that singeth songs to an heavy heart" is probably such a bard (Prov. xxv, 20). When the people prepare to go to bed, it is only necessary to take off the girdle, and then lying down on the carpet to cover themselves two or three times with the thick carpet. Shoes, it is well understood, are never worn in the room; they are always left at the door, and therefore are only needed when one leaves the house.

The village amusements, besides marriages, the taking of vows, or the like, are supplemented by occasional itinerant showmen. Instead of the traditional Italian organ-grinder of Europe, they have buffoons, called *barâmkay*, who come in little troops of three or four. The leader (*Abû Kheṣaywân*) beats his little drum with

bells, the second plays the neyey, and a youth puts on a petticoat and whirls around (probably the name *barâmkay* means "whirlers"), to the great amusement of the onlookers. If in making his collections —the drum is held out for the usual hat—he does not receive encouragement to his satisfaction, he begins to talk about the stinginess of so-and-so in such-and-such a place, the meanness of his character, and so forth. If the hint is not sufficient, he gets nearer and makes impertinent remarks about the villagers themselves. This is generally successful, and to escape worse "blame" (*'azâra*[*t*]), coins or comestibles are given, and a volley of praises succeeds. The fellaḥ is very particular about his reputation (*ṣît*), and will rather overpay the rascal than be called names in the next village. Bulgarians, also, sometimes pass with bears; others have performing goats or monkeys. The monkey (*sa'adân*) shows how the old man goes on his staff, how the old woman sleeps, how the hunter carries the gun, and so on.

(*To be continued.*)

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

By W. E. Jennings-Bramley, Esq.

I.—*Natural History.*

As will appear from time to time in these notes, the hyæna and the wolf are the wild animals that the Bedouin of the Sinaitic Peninsula have most to fear, both for their flocks and themselves. When the Hajj went by the road from Suez to Nakhl, instead of as now by the Wâdy Hasil eṭ-Ṭûr, the former road was infested with hyæna in quest of the dead camels which are always to be found on much frequented roads; now these brutes have almost disappeared from the district. They were then in such numbers as to be a danger to solitary travellers. I was told by a man that one night as he was riding to Suez, his camel stopped suddenly, and he saw close to him, by the side of the road, a hyæna feeding on a dead camel. He went up to it, but could not scare it away. It only howled at him, and went on tearing the carcase. Hunger will embolden them, even to attacking a man. A Bedouin I knew came suddenly upon a yæna which made for him. His gun was not loaded; he could

only use it as a club, and the brute catching hold of the barrels in its jaws smashed them up as if they had been made of tin. The man would certainly have been killed had not his friend rushed up to the rescue and shot the hyæna. The fellahîn stand in abject terror of the *dabba*, as they call the hyæna. At Nakhl some of the Haiwat Bedouin have intermarried with fellahîn, and, imbued with their fears, look upon the hyæna almost as a supernatural object of dread. One evening, sitting in one of the huts in the town Suleiman el-Awamra offered one of these 10 camels if he would go to the well outside the town, not more than 100 yards off. Suleiman increased this offer until it reached 50 camels, and yet the man would not go for fear of hyænas. Those who can realise what wealth 50 camels represent to a Bedouin will require no further proof of the dread with which the animal inspires them. These fears are very exaggerated, for a hyæna must be driven desperate by hunger before it will attack a man. Preferring the pure air of the desert to the stuffiness of the mud huts of Nakhl, when there, I always slept some way out of the town, and I constantly saw the hyæna come sneaking down to drink at the wells, coming up the wind to avoid being detected by the dogs of the town. However, whether coming or going these latter always scent the hyænas, all come out in a pack, barking and yapping in chorus, and making noise enough to awaken the whole population, but never daring to attack the hyænas, which, when they find the dogs too close on them, have only to stop and snarl to send all the curs running back. When at a safe distance, some 20 or 30 yards, the yapping recommences, and so on. No doubt if a hyæna were hungry enough to risk approaching a sleeping man close enough to be certain he slept, with one snap of the jaws he would end all resistance. I have never heard of men killed in their sleep, however, but Bedouin in a bad country—bad in the sense either of being infested by animals or robbers—sleep with their heads resting on their camels. The camel is ever on the watch, the slightest sound makes him uneasy, and some Bedouin go so far as to say that dromedaries, when sniffing danger, will silently wake their masters by rubbing them with their noses. It is always safest, say the Arabs, to avoid camping near bushes, for a hyæna may creep up unobserved, and by suddenly springing out may so frighten a camel that he may in his desperate efforts break his *agal* and escape, gallop off, and be lost. A dead camel is sometimes used as a decoy. For

one night a *galabia* hung on sticks near the carcase, serves as a scarecrow. Next night the hyæna, who has not dared to approach the tempting repast, and with an appetite made keen by longing, finds the *galabia* gone, and, emboldened by hunger, rushes on to the bait with fewer precautions than it would have used the previous night, and is shot by those in wait. The Arabs make little use of the skins, some few are turned into bottles, but not many. The hyæna will attack a donkey, never a camel. The track of hyæna, jackal, and wolf are of the same size, but with this difference: in the hyæna it is the pads of the fore feet that are small, while the hind are large. In the wolf and jackal, on the other hand, this is reversed, the hind pads being large, the front small.

Another animal (known as the *shinanê dip*) is, I believe, the wolf proper, very likely allied to the Indian wolf, but smaller at all events than the Russian. Although they are never known to attack men they are very bold in approaching you, and if you are sleeping (away from your camels) and they are hungry they will creep up unnoticed and snatch away the sandals from under your head, or any pieces of leather they can set their teeth on. I know from personal experience that they will attack camels, and it is extraordinary how large they loom in the moonlight when you suddenly put them up. Their tracks are found one day from water, whereas those of hyæna are found two days off, never further. Once when lost on the Libyan side of the desert my boy and I came upon fox tracks, we knew water must be near, but it was useless following up tracks; which were just as likely to lead from as to water, still it was something to know it was within reach.

The small fox (called by the Arabs *hussainê* or *taleb*) is found throughout Sinai. Eagles often carry off the cubs. One of these cubs was brought to me by my men once. They had found it cowering under a bush, the eagle soaring above and waiting to strike. My men wanted to eat it, but I bought it from them and gave it its liberty. They are pretty little animals.

I have seen in the Wâdy el-Grieg footprints of what I was told was a *nimmer*, which literally translated means the tiger,[1] but is the name Arabs give to the leopard. I have never seen one. To judge by the stories one hears, they constantly attack people. They are to be found, I am told, in great numbers about Ajaba.

[1] Heb. *nâmêr*, leopard.

If Suleiman is to be relied on, their favourite diet is herdsmen. He gave me no reason for this preference, nor did he himself owe the loss of any of his friends to their appetite. Of the ibex, gazelle, and hare there is nothing more to say than that which I have written when speaking of sport, *see Quarterly Statement*, 1900, pp. 369 *sqq*.

In the hills, they tell me, they find many porcupines, and that they are excellent eating. I have never seen one although I have often picked up their quills. The Jebel Rorriah is said to be a favourite haunt of the *anis* as the Bedouin call them.

The jerboa is found everywhere, and is sometimes eaten by the Bedouin.

In Syria the wild pig is found. The Arabs of the south speak with disgust of the northern Bedouin who, they say, shoot and touch them, and even eat the flesh. I never saw anything of the kind, and this story may be a calumny.

The Arabs, who are splendid climbers, often rob the nests of eaglets, and I myself have known two who had brought up the young birds with great care and kept them till strong enough to let go.

There are two kinds of vulture in Sinai. The Egyptian (called *rakham* by the Bedouin) and the Griffin vulture. The latter is the Roc of Sinbad the Sailor, and the Arabs tell you that once upon a time whilst flying over the desert it let fall an egg. A dog passing by licked up some of the yolk and instantly went mad, and that is how there came to be hydrophobia in the world.

By *shahine* the Arabs designate all kinds of hawks although, properly speaking, it is the name of the peregrine alone. In Sinai the little owl is called *bûma*, and the eagle, long and short-eared owl *uma gouek*, whilst in Egypt the names are reversed.

I have met, three or four days out in the desert, near the Wâdy Bir, thousands of pelicans, resting on their way elsewhere. The sound of their wings when they fly over one's head in the silent desert is difficult to realise unless heard. The air is so still and silent that the vibration of what would seem to be every feather, one on the other, as they fly past, reaches the ear with extraordinary clearness, and the combined effect is that of an army passing by.

I have several times seen kingfishers in the Wâdy Arish and the Wâdy Haisê, and wondered how they came there and what

they were doing there. I have also found snipe and snippet. Quail there are but very few. Among birds of passage the rollers seem to stay longest in the desert.

The time to be on the look out for vipers during the summer is after a hot wind. No Arab will walk at night if he can possibly help it; if he must he prods the sand in front of him with a stick to give them the alarm; the viper will do its best to get off, but if trodden on would certainly strike. They are to be found especially in sandy places. I myself have had two narrow escapes. One night I found one in my blanket. When I opened it, preparatory to rolling myself up in it, the brute darted out hissing. On another occasion, in the Wâdy Suddar outside Suez, during the midday rest, I was leaning back on one hand, and happening to look down saw a cerastes between it and my body. Needless to say, I was up in a moment. It could not escape, a high rock barring its passage, and we easily killed it.

Once I had quite an encounter with a small snake, black with rings of white, I do not know if it was poisonous, it was certainly vicious, for it came for me, and whenever I made a bad shot at it with my stick, and I made several, it struck at me, obliging me to jump aside pretty nimbly. At last I hit it, and ended this strange combat with an adversary not much larger than a worm. One hears of very few cases of deaths by snake-bite. When one comes across the reptile in the early morning, the cold of the night has numbed them to such an extent, that they lie torpid, incapable of escaping. A little child of the Terabin picked up a snake, in this state probably, and put it inside his tub. The snake bit him twice, but the child lived through the day and part of the night. Had remedies been at hand it might probably have been saved, but the Bedouins have absolutely none, except charms. From the length of time the child survived, it would seem that the poison of the serpent is in no way so virulent as that of the cobra, and some antidote, with so much time to counteract the poison, might be found effectual.

I have seen several flights of locusts. Once near Nakhl I first perceived the ground patterned with the shadows of coming millions, looked up and saw a great cloud approaching. Another time I was walking along the gulf of Akaba. Near the well of Tabba there is a group of palms. Suddenly against these I heard a noise like the patter of huge drops of rain. A flight of locusts was whizzing along blindly hurling itself against everything in its way. Those

that struck the leaves remained there, and enough remained to strip every bush and every palm of every scrap of green. Others by the thousand missed their aim and fell helplessly in the sea. I watched them and could see they felt the danger of the water, and tried to turn, but they are very bad flyers, with their long awkward bodies, and after a useless attempt would fall into the sea. There is little the Arabs can do, all the green stuff about Akaba had been devoured by locusts when I was there. I believe that if huge bonfires were made by the side of trees the smoke might keep off the locusts. This might be practicable in the desert where the trees are few in number and in clumps. Sometimes the owner of a date tree will climb up and try knocking them down with a stick, but this has little effect. One day in a Wâdy I came upon a flight in difficulties. It was still so early that they were numbed by the cold of the night (they never can fly till warmed through by the sun),[1] and they lay thick on the ground moving along but unable to get out of the way, I stepped on a positive pavement of locusts. Being unable to fly, the narrowness of the Wâdy made their escape impossible, they fluttered helplessly to the sides of the rock and lay there. In the early morning these locusts appear to be of a dark colour with red legs, once the sun is up they turn to a bright yellow.

In the Wâdy Arîsh I have noticed a species of water beetle in puddles. These puddles last at most two months, and I have wondered what became of these beetles during the remaining ten months of the year. Do they lie buried deep in the mud to rise again when the rain refills the depressions in the ground where these puddles are formed, or do they die after having laid their eggs, which hatch in due time? I was unable to catch any as they darted up and down in the muddy water.

The Wâdy el-Ain, off the Ain el-Weser in Sinai, as well as the Fayûm, is infested with a large horse-fly, the sting of which is generally fatal to camels, giving them a fever from which they seldom recover. If they do, their value is greatly increased, as the general strength of their constitution is proved by their recovery, and the poison of the fly has no further effect on them. The sting, if it does not kill, has the effect of inoculating them. Tar smeared on the legs of the camel ward off this and the ordinary camel fly,

[1] [*Cp.* Nahum iii. 17, "as the locusts and as the swarms of grasshoppers which camp in the hedges in the cold day, but when the sun ariseth they flee away."]

which, if less dangerous, is troublesome enough. It is, unfortunately, to be found everywhere, and teases the poor brutes till they get wild, or from constantly trying to free themselves by poking their heads back under their bellies or legs to drive the fly off can make no way forward. If worried the camels, when left alone, will roll in any sand they may pass to rid themselves of the fly, and should any packs be on their backs at the time the damage to these is likely to be serious. Ticks are another plague of camels and of men also for the matter of that. Wherever there is water there are sure to be ticks.

II.—*Diseases.*

It is difficult for the man who is not a professional to speak with any certainty on such subjects as the diseases to which the Bedouin are subject; it is impossible for him to recognise any but the most obvious ones, and even in the case of these he can only be guided by such symptoms as appear on the surface, and so rude a diagnosis must in most cases be an utterly wrong one. It is easy to say, for instance, that the Bedouin, whilst having exceptionally keen eyesight, suffer much from diseases of the eye, but it is impossible without some professional knowledge to name these diseases, whether they are forms of ophthalmia or other less known affections.

From rheumatism, or what seemed to me to be rheumatism, they frequently suffer; I, myself, have at times been crippled by it, and those who have slept out in the desert, and have awakened drenched through and through by the dew, will not be surprised to hear that rheumatism is one of the most prevalent of diseases, and that many a poor Bedouin who cannot afford proper covering becomes a victim to the most painful forms. A common remedy is one I saw Sheikh Suleiman have recourse to for a pain in his back. Ratan was pounded and spread over the affected part, then hot stones were laid on the ratan. He said this gave him relief, but I am unable to say how far the merit of the cure belonged to the ratan, how far to the heat of the stones. I have noticed the intoxicating properties which the milk of goats fed on ratan has on some, and sometimes the goats are prevented from eating it in large quantities until their stomachs have got inured to it.

Doctors of any kind or nationality are unknown in the desert. Sometimes a Bedouin in an extreme case, and if near a town, will consult a doctor, but he has a great dislike to parting with his

money at any time, and would have to be hard pressed before he could make up his mind to pay a fee. I knew one who, on being asked at Arish to pay a piastre for some medicine prescribed, declared he would prefer to die, and I do not fancy this sentiment would be a rare one among them. They have more faith in surgery than in medicine, and a barber, when he can be obtained, is, by virtue of his razor, a great man among them, and with absolute faith they will place themselves in his hands and perform any rough and ready operation he may think advisable. As a matter of fact the skill of many of these self-taught operators is quite remarkable.

From fever they suffer little. Small-pox is met with all over the East, and I have met many Bedouins badly pitted by the disease; but they do not look upon it as so serious an illness as we do. It is probable that at times they have been visited by epidemics of cholera or plague, but I have never heard them speak of these. With them an illness is an illness, and you recover or die as may be, to discriminate between one illness and another is mere waste of time. They have so few remedies that in serious cases of illness they are utterly helpless and leave things alone; luckily the race is a very healthy one, and they manage to struggle along without either doctors or medicines, combating whatever diseases may fall to their share as successfully as many more privileged individuals.

Their *Hawy* fulfil the functions of medicine men, and in so far are their nearest approach to doctors, but their remedies are mostly of the nature of charms and depend on their personal power. It is they and they alone who can efficaciously suck the wound of either scorpion or snake-bite. Their saliva, and only theirs, has curative worth when mixed with oil and taken as medicine. Sometimes a mere outward application of the saliva is supposed to cure the wound. The Bedouin have other remedies for bites unconnected with the *Hawy*, such as pressing a five or ten piastre piece on the wound, and some drink their own urine as an antidote. I came across a man plastering his foot which was badly cut, with a mixture of water and sheep's dung. I do not know if this is a recognised remedy, or, as I suspect many of their recipes to be, the result of the inspiration of the moment. Bleeding they have recourse to for all sorts of minor diseases.

Their camels, when suffering from sores or boils, may be sprinkled with tobacco-dust, to prevent flies laying their eggs in the wounds.

For their eyes they use kohl, for sores a paste made of henna and water, the healing powers of which I have myself tested and found excellent. Their remedy for constipation is the wild fig—*lassa* they call it—which grows in the Wâdy Suddar. This fig is full of bright vermilion seeds.

I have spoken elsewhere of their preservative against scorpion poison. Against that of snakes they recommend a dose of boiled Egyptian vulture.

Some wells are infested by a very small species of leech, and every now and then it happens that some man, too thirsty to be cautious, swallows one of these, and it fastens on the inside of his throat. A strong solution of tombac is made and used as a gargle. This always has the effect of killing either the leech or the man. They also use, as a precaution against these leeches, branches of the *mitoran*, a tree that grows in the Wâdy Arîsh and in various places in Southern Syria. These are soaked in the water to be drunk, kills any leeches there may be in it, but also gives the water a bitter taste, which, however unpleasant, is not unwholesome. The herb *habak* (mint), which grows about the Tûr, is used as a cure for boils. The leaves are dried and powdered, and this powder is sprinkled on the boil.

Tudout, another plant, poisonous enough to kill camels or goats if they eat it in any but small quantities, when made into a strong solution is very effectual in killing vermin. It is much used by the women, who mix it in the water with which they wash their own and their children's heads. There may be other herbs they use medicinally, but I have not heard of them. What simple knowledge they have of the properties of these plants is shared by all. No one sets up as being especially learned in such practical matters, for although their holy men are consulted as dreamers and interpreters of dreams, their advice is generally of a mystical character, and does not condescend to deal with the slighter ailments to which flesh is heir. In serious cases they have great faith in the intercessory powers of the family Neby, and turn to him with promises of a sacrifice—be it kid, goat, or camel—*if* the person in danger should recover, not otherwise. The animal sacrificed they eat themselves, but the honours of the day belong to the Neby.

The constant and severe forms of indigestion from which the Bedouin suffer can cause no surprise when it is remembered that they will devour at one sitting extraordinary quantities of meat

when they get a chance, and that in between these bouts are protracted periods of enforced fasting, when they eat nothing but small quantities of the unleavened bread which they make themselves.

Leprosy is not common. I met one man whose hands were scaly and blotched with white. I am unable to say whether he was a leper; at all events, no sort of precaution against infection was taken in his case. He lived, slept, fed in the tent with all of us. It is this ignorance of the dangers of contagion that may account for the spread of venereal diseases among a people as moral as the Bedouin. Public women are unknown among them, and the idea that there should be such is abhorrent to them. They marry young, and cases of illicit intercourse are extremely rare.

They stand in the greatest dread of mad dogs, and all live in terror when one is reported to be about. Three men were bitten at the wells of Gerai whilst I was in Sinai. The dog had taken a bee-line from the wells of Gerafy to Gerai, and found the men asleep near the wells. Of the three men who were bitten, one died; the two others, though badly hurt, got over it. The last one attacked by the dog managed to strangle him after a hard fight. There is something that affects the nerves in the knowledge that a mad dog may be about in the desert. The feeling that he may be down upon you from anywhere as you lie asleep on the ground is not conducive to rest. In the daytime it is different: your gun is always loaded, and a suspicious-looking dog is shot without further ado.

Although the Bedouin are very ignorant of the properties even of the few herbs they know, still they are aware that some are poisonous; but I feel sure the idea of using poison to rid himself of an enemy is too much opposed to the Bedouin's idea of what is right and proper for him to have recourse to it.

III.—*Agriculture.*

The Bedouin can in no sense be called an agricultural people. It would be impossible for them to grow corn enough to supply their wants on the small patches here and there in the Wâdies irrigated by the rains, but they do profit by such small bits of ground to add to their store of imported corn or grow *durra* or melons. They have often nothing but a wooden plough, drawn

by camels, which seldom goes deeper than a foot into the ground. Either just before the rains are expected, or, if they happen to be on the spot, at the first indication of rain, they throw their seed in. In the one case the rain may not come, in the other it may come with such force as to wash everything away. Agriculture in Sinai is always in a precarious condition, and being so can never be the serious business of a man's life. He may be said to look after his crops when he has nothing better to do. He never manures the land, and such weeding as they do (if it deserves the name at all) consists of very little more than cutting away bushes and pulling up the most harmful plants and roots. The usual crops are barley, corn, Indian corn, very little tobacco, water melons, but these are only sown in small patches on ground not fit for corn—or in the years when the rain coming very late, the time is too far advanced to sow corn. They know of no rotation of crops, and would go on sowing corn on the same plots year after year, but the variation in the rainfall makes this impossible. The crops will only grow where and when there is rain. They grow no vegetables at all. Onions they buy when they get a chance, but never import them in very large quantities. They never irrigate their fields, for the double reason that they have none to irrigate, and no water to irrigate them with, as the water in the wells, such as they are now, is not more than sufficient for their flocks. These consist of camels, sheep, goats, and donkeys, with some few horses, which in most cases belong to the sheikhs.

The only fruit trees are the date palm and fig. There is no reason why olives should not thrive on the sides of Wâdies, but they have not been tried. Such trees as there are grow wild, and no one thinks of pruning them. I have never heard of any religious custom connected with sowing or reaping. They have no vintage or olive harvest; they do not give tithes, nor do they leave any gleanings for the poor—all being poor, nor even for the Imâm, for there is none.

IV.—*The Story of Areed.*

Areed was a warrior; no one of the tribe could start without him, for he, better than any other, knew how to lead the men by unfrequented roads where the flocks worth raiding would be found; none could fight as he—if fighting there was—none could drive the booty back to camp so quickly and safely.

His wife was beautiful and he loved her, but she must needs prefer Haroof, a fool, whom men looked down on, for he was no fighter; and she left her husband Areed, and went with Haroof. But Areed said nothing, but he watched his opportunity.

Soon the tribe were called together for a raid. Areed, of course, was of the number of fighters, and Haroof, lest he should be thought a coward, went too. After riding many days, they were short of water, but Areed told them to have no care; he would lead them to a well he knew of. He would hurry on and they must follow in his track, and reaching the well before they did, he threw his cloak over the mouth of it, and when his friends came up he exclaimed, "Alas! the well is no longer! Water here there is none, one of us must ride back and fetch the water-skins full, lest we die of thirst." Then Haroof was chosen to go back, and what water was still in the water-skins they gave him, lest he should die on the way. And Areed said to him, "When thou seest thy wife, which was mine, recite these verses to her and it will be well with thee."[1]

Haroof did as he was bid. Then the woman knew that Areed had found the well, and had sent back Haroof to prove to her how much of a fool was the man she had preferred to him. So she left the tent of Haroof, and when Areed returned, went back to his.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] "*Areed beriken al el Nasham minhillem*
Ou minhillem al el tarreek mageed.

"*Ou gadder Allah ya Haroof ya rawahun.*
Ou gadder Allah ya Haroof eejeek."

I am unable to give a translation of these verses; I wrote them down as they were recited to me.

THE CAMP OF THE TENTH LEGION AT JERUSALEM AND THE CITY OF ÆLIA.

By Major-General Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., LL.D., &c.

1. *The Walls of the Roman Camp*, A.D. 70–132.—Jerusalem, after its capture by the Romans, became a Legionary fortress, or permanent "Camp"; and it so remained until the revolt of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 132). No record of the size of the "Camp" has been preserved; no tradition exists with regard to its position; and no trace of its limits has yet been found.

Titus, when ordering the demolition of the fortifications of the city, decided to spare the west wall of the "Upper City" that it might serve as a barrack for his troops; and the three towers, Phasaelus, Hippicus, and Mariamne, that they might show future generations how strong the defences of Jerusalem had been. The troops left by Titus as a garrison consisted of the Tenth Legion, Fretensis, with certain auxiliaries—troops of horsemen, and companies of footmen.[1] From the above it may be inferred that the north-west angle of the "Camp" was near the Jaffa Gate, where the fortified palace of Herod and the three towers stood. Unfortunately nothing is known of the steps which the Roman engineers took to convert Jerusalem into a Legionary fortress. The circumstances were so exceptional that they may have abandoned their normal arrangements. On the other hand, it seems most probable that they carried out their work in accordance with the general principles governing the construction of fortified camps, and that, wherever it was practicable, they utilised the existing fortifications.

The "Upper City" was defended on its north, west, and south sides by the *first* wall, and on its east side by a wall that ran along the low cliff on the right bank of the Tyropœon Valley. This wall is not mentioned by Josephus,[2] but its existence may be inferred from

[1] *B.J.*, vii, 1, §§ 1, 2. The legion, or the bulk of it, was doubtless quartered at Jerusalem; the auxiliaries may have garrisoned smaller forts at important points in Judæa.

[2] This is not remarkable, for Josephus, in his description of the walls, never alludes to the great peribolos wall of the Temple precincts which still attracts the wonder and admiration of travellers. The fragments of masonry referred to by Schick (*Quarterly Statement*, 1898, pp. 81, 82) may have belonged to the wall.

the fact that the "Upper City" was able to hold out after the Temple and the "Lower City" were in the hands of the Romans. Titus was obliged to undertake regular siege operations before he could force an entrance.[1] When at last the "Upper City" fell, its fortifications, with the exception of a breach in the west wall, were intact.[2]

It may be regarded as almost certain that for the north and west walls of the "Camp" the engineers utilised portions of the *first* or old wall, but the trace adopted for the east and south walls is not so clearly indicated. A Legionary fortress was, as a rule, a square or oblong, with rounded angles, and about 50 acres in extent. Thus Caerleon is 51 acres, York probably 48, Chester probably 53, Lambæsis 52, and Bonn 61; the proportion of length to breadth varies in each case.[3] The "Camp" at Jerusalem may not have been of the usual form, but, if the bulk of the Legion was quartered there, its area would be normal, and, in attempting to locate it, a space of about 50 acres must be allowed. The ground enclosed by the walls of the "Upper City"—about $74\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent—is now unequally divided by the south wall of the modern town. That portion lying north of the city wall has an area of about $48\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and, very possibly, its limits may be those of the Roman "Camp." It is quite conceivable that the engineers utilised the north, east, and west walls of the "Upper City," and, to complete the defences, connected the two last by a new wall which followed a line still preserved by the wall of the modern city.[4] An approximate rectangle, well defended on all sides, and of the regulation size, would thus be formed on the highest part of the hill.[5] According

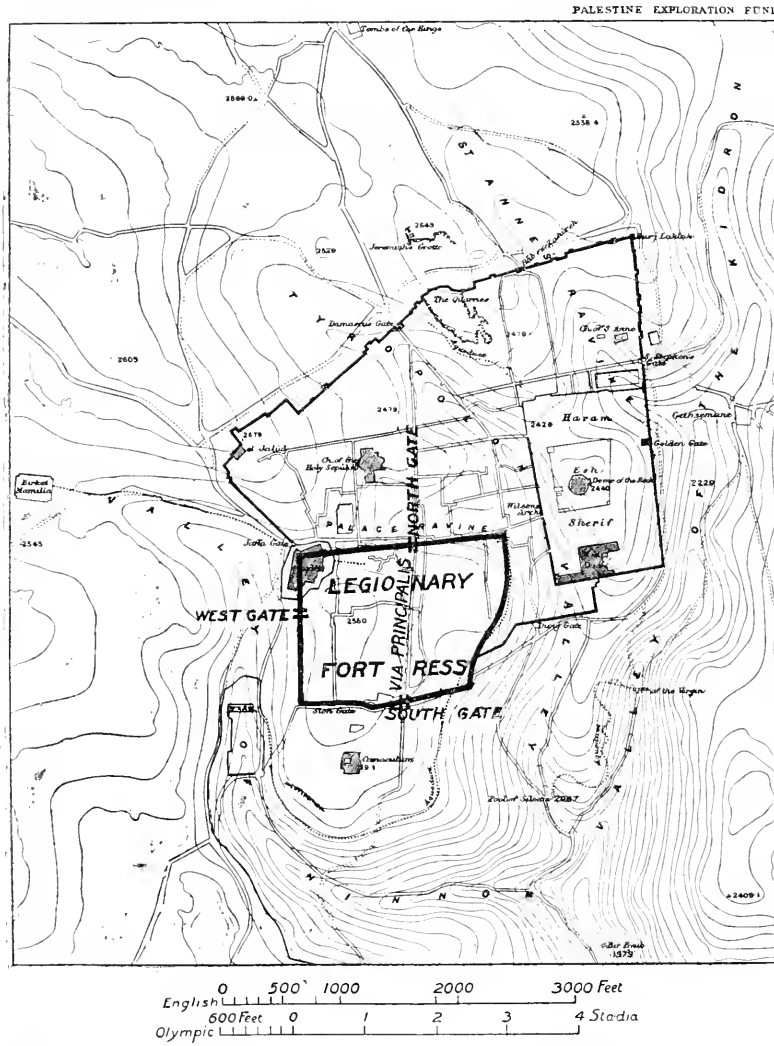
[1] *B.J.*, vi, 8, 1. [2] *Ibid.*, vi, 8, 4.

[3] For information with regard to existing Legionary fortresses, and for many valuable suggestions as to the manner in which the Romans would probably set about the formation of their "Camp" at Jerusalem, I am much indebted to Mr. F. Haverfield.

[4] There has never been any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the south wall of Jerusalem which, for no ostensible reason, excludes a quarter that must have been one of the pleasantest in the ancient city. The true solution of the problem seems to be that the "Camp" existed as a military station long after the reign of Hadrian; and that, eventually, when the garrison of Jerusalem was nominal, and the "Camp" was no longer required, its south wall became the southern limit of the city.

[5] I was formerly of opinion that the limits of the "Upper City" were those of the "Camp," but I have abandoned this view in consequence of the strong evidence that the normal area of a Legionary fortress did not vary greatly from 50 acres, and the fact that the area of the "Upper City" was as much as $74\frac{1}{2}$ acres.

to this view "the Camp" extended, approximately, from David Street to the south wall, and from the west wall to the conduit from "Solomon's Pools."



Camp of the Tenth Legion at Jerusalem.

The fortifications not utilised in the construction of "the Camp" were demolished, and on the south the demolition appears to have been

complete.[1] How far this was the case on the north is unknown, but it is reasonable to suppose that those portions of the *second* and *third* walls in the immediate vicinity of "the Camp" were overthrown, and that the ground was levelled over their ruins. The Roman engineers would not have neglected such an obvious military precaution, and have left cover for a possible enemy in close proximity to their defences. Inside "the Camp," the principal street of the ancient city, the line of which is still preserved, no doubt became the *Via principalis* with its Northern Gate near the south-east corner of the Muristan, and its Southern Gate at the spot where the Zion Gate stood before the walls were rebuilt by Sultan Suleiman. The West Gate was, probably, at or near the gate in the west wall mentioned by Mukaddasi, A.D. 985,[2] but no trace remains of this gate or of the street which must have led eastward from it. Possibly the Armenian gardens on the west, and the waste ground on the south[3] represent on those sides, the clear spaces that were always left between the walls and the quarters of the soldiers.

Outside "the Camp" Roman and foreign merchants, and those Jews who had taken no part in war, would settle down amidst the ruins of the ancient city for the purposes of trade. These squatters probably rebuilt the old bazârs that lay between the *first* and *second* walls[4]; and those of them who were not Jews may have erected a small temple or shrine of Astarte on a site so convenient to the bazârs as that now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Whether any *canabæ* grew up to the south of "the Camp" is uncertain, but it is pleasant to think that Christian families may have settled down in this locality after their return from Pella, and that they may have founded "the mother church of Zion" on the ruins of the house in which Christ had partaken of

[1] *See* the description of the state of the old walls by Dr. Bliss (Bliss and Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894–97; P.E.F., 1898).

[2] Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, pp. 214–217. The gate was called *Bâb el-Tih*.

[3] During the last 50 years most of this ground has been taken up for building.

[4] This appears to have been the belief at the commencement of the twelfth century, for Saewulf writes that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was "situated on the declivity of Mount Sion, as was the city itself; after that the Roman princes, Titus and Vespasian, had by the vengeance of the Lord destroyed from the foundations the whole city of Jerusalem" (English translation in the publications of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, pp. 9, 10).

the Last Supper with His disciples. Within the walls of the Legionary fortress there could have been no church, synagogue, or temple.

2. *The Walls of Ælia Capitolina.*—During the revolt of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian "the Camp" and the suburbs in its vicinity were taken by the insurgents, and recaptured by the Romans. How far they suffered in the prolonged struggle it is impossible to say; but it is reasonable to suppose that, whilst the *canabæ* may have been destroyed, the strong walls of the Legionary fortress were not seriously injured.

When Hadrian was able to carry out his project of rebuilding Jerusalem as a heathen city, one of the first steps that he would take would be to reoccupy "the Camp" with Legionary troops, and restore its walls where they had been breached. The presence of a large Roman garrison in the "Upper City" of Josephus, is indicated by several centurial inscriptions on the tubes of the stone syphon of the "High Level Aqueduct."[1] This aqueduct, is the only one capable of delivering a steady stream of water at the level of "the Camp," and its preservation in a thorough state of repair would be a matter of special importance to the garrison. The Legionary fortress, as elsewhere, would be quite distinct from the civil town which Hadrian made a *Colonia*. Its walls would long remain, and, on the north and south sides, they appear to have lasted to the reign of Constantine.[2] The interval which separated the fortress from the "Colony" would coincide very nearly with "David Street." A passage in the *Annals* of Eutychius, to which M. Clermont-Ganneau has called attention,[3] appears to contain an allusion to the northern face of the Legionary fortress as restored by Hadrian:—"The Greeks established themselves there (in Ælia) and constructed a fortress at the gate of the Temple called

[1] The aqueduct may have been constructed by Herod the Great when he built his fortified palace in the "Upper City" (*B.J.*, v. 4, § 4), or it may have been a Roman military work carried out by the garrison after the capture of the city by Titus. The inscriptions give no certain date. For a discussion of these points, see *Quarterly Statement*, 1905, pp. 75–77.

[2] The Bordeaux Pilgrim, A.D. 333, found the house of Caiaphas outside, and David's Palace, *i.e.*, "David's Tower," inside "the wall of Sion"; and, going northwards to the Gate of Neapolis, *i.e.*, the Damascus Gate, he went "out of the wall of Sion" (*Itin. Hierosol*). These walls correspond to the north and south walls of the fortress.

[3] *Rec. d'Arch. Orientale*, vol. vi, pp. 279 *sqq*.

el-Behâ[1]. . . . This fortress exists to-day at the gate of Jerusalem, and is called the *Mihrâb* of David."[2]

No early writer describes the walls built by Hadrian to protect the civil city, Ælia Capitolina, and there is no record of any reconstruction or extension earlier than the fifth century.[3] It may be inferred from this absence of information that the walls of Constantine's city were the walls of Ælia, and that on the north, at least, these walls are represented, conventionally, on the plan of Jerusalem in the Madeba mosaic. It is conceivable that Hadrian built his wall nearly on the line of the *third* wall of the ancient city; and this view derives some support from the Madeba mosaic and from the Itinerary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. In the former, city gates are clearly shown in positions that are approximately those of the present Jaffa, Damascus, and St. Stephen Gates. From the Itinerary it would appear that the *Birket Isrâîl*, the pool near the Church of St. Anne, and the twin pools near the Convent of the Sisters of Zion, were within the walls in A.D. 333.[4] The wall of Ælia appears, in fact, to have followed the course of the present wall except, perhaps, near the Jaffa Gate, where it seems to have been drawn in so as to give "David's Tower," and the citadel a clear front.

Some interesting suggestions with regard to the public buildings of Ælia, mentioned in the Paschal Chronicle have recently been made by Father Germer-Durand.[5] The learned Augustinian identifies the *Trikameron*[6] with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and its three *cellæ*, and considers the *Kodra*, that is "Quadra," to be the great quadrangular enclosure, *Haram esh-Sherif*, in which the Trikameron stood. He sees in the two *demosia* municipal buildings connected with the administration of the city,

[1] The gate *el-Behâ*, "the Gate of Beauty," is apparently the present *Bâb es-Silsileh*, the "Golden Gate" of the Middle Ages.

[2] This seems to indicate the citadel at the Jaffa Gate.

[3] "The site of the city is almost circular, enclosed within a circuit of walls of no small extent, whereby it now receives within itself Mount Sion, which was once outside" (Eucherius, *Epit.*, Palestine Pilgrim Text Society Series vol. ii). This enclosure of Mount Sion took place before Eudocia (A.D. 449–460) built the wall that included the Pool of Siloam.

[4] *Itin. Hierosol.*

[5] *Echos d'Orient*, 1904, pp. 65–71; *see* also *R.B.*, 1, pp. 369–387.

[6] The *Trikameron* would more naturally be a building with three vaulted rooms like the Basilica of Maxentius at Rome; but the identification proposed above is quite possible.

and in the *Tetranymphon*, a bath with four porticos—possibly the Pool of Siloam, which, according to the Bordeaux Pilgrim,[1] was *quadriporticus*. The *Dodekapylon* he regards as the double colonnade of the principal thoroughfare divided by three *tetrapylons*, and its name, "the steps," he explains by the steps in the street. But in this last case an identification with some part of the fortifications, or with some great work connected with the approach from the civil city to the temple of Jupiter[2] would seem preferable.

THE CRYPTS IN ST. ANNE'S CHURCH, JERUSALEM.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

At the request of the Rev. Père Cré, of the Monastery of St. Anne, I have examined and measured the crypts found under the ancient Church of St. Anne, and submit herewith a report upon them. Let me say at the outset that I do not share the doubts that have in some quarters been thrown upon their nature, as true relics of antiquity. There can be no question that they are genuinely ancient, and in some respects unique.

A brief notice of the discovery was inserted in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1904, p. 99, and there simultaneously appeared in the *Revue Biblique* an exhaustive account of the chambers, illustrated with plans and sections, some of them coloured, from the pen of Père Vincent, of the Dominican Biblical School of Saint-Étienne in Jerusalem. This occupies pp. 228–241 of that journal.

The fulness of this description makes it unnecessary for me to give more than an outline account, sufficient to enable readers of the *Quarterly Statement* to form a fair conception of the exact nature of the discovery.

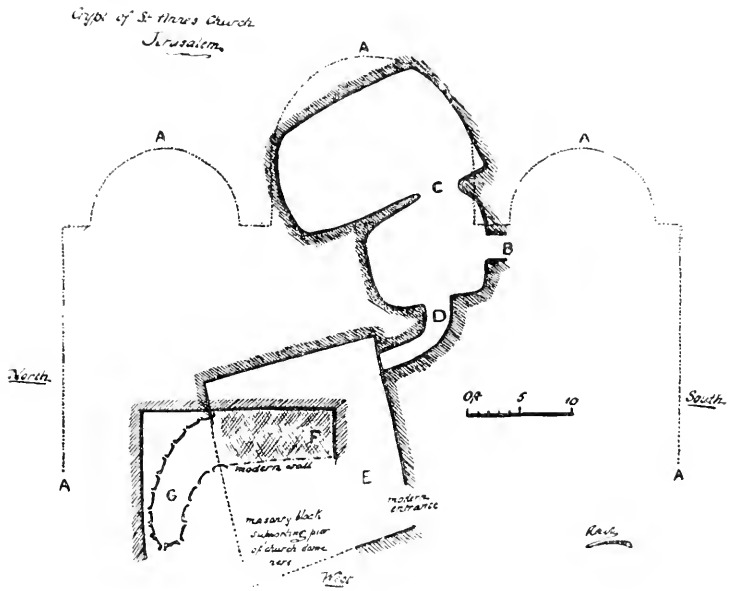
The Church of St. Anne, turned after the expulsion of the Crusaders from Jerusalem into a Moslem school and afterwards allowed to fall into decay, was, as is well known, offered first to

[1] *Itin. Hierosol.*

[2] The approach appears to have been by a viaduct, perhaps reached by steps, at "Wilson's Arch." The *Dodekapylon* may refer to the columns in front of the temple of Jupiter, and the steps that led up to the platform upon which they stood.

England and then to France by the Sultan at the end of the Crimean war. It was accepted by the latter Power, and restored for Christian worship in a conservative spirit all too rare, and deserving the highest praise. It is difficult to realise when entering the building that it is not standing exactly as the Crusaders left it.

The restoration included the refitting of the rock-cut crypt, in which an ancient tradition had localised the birth of the Virgin. It was a large cistern-like chamber, approached from the west by a passage. Into this chamber the restorer, in 1863, inserted an apsidal chapel.



The discoveries of further additions to the complex of chambers have since been made on two occasions—in 1889, when the eastern side of the cistern-like chamber (B C D on the plan) was found to be separated by a wall, only a few inches thick, from another chamber resembling it, and when a tunnel was found, running in a curved direction from the west side of the first chamber to a large square apartment, hewn in the rock a little north of the apsidal chapel; and in 1896, when a small square chamber was found above the level of the apartment just alluded to.

The accompanying plan shows the whole complex, so far as it has been revealed, omitting some portions of the original crypt that have been known from the first. It is highly probable that further remains exist, but excavation would be difficult or impossible owing to the necessity of safeguarding the structure of the church that covers the site. In describing the remains I shall dissociate myself entirely from any discussion of the ancient tradition that has led to special veneration being paid to this place. My conclusions neither prove nor disprove it.

The remains seem to me those of a villa, with a number of associated subterranean cellars and cisterns. In the accompanying plan the inside face of the walls of the modern church is represented in dotted lines (A A A A). A flight of modern steps, leading downward from the centre of the south aisle, conducts the visitor to the ancient crypt, which is situated about the position of the scale in the plan. The modern masonry of the chapel built here obscures this portion of the cutting. From the chapel a masonry doorway (B), leads into a chamber behind the apse of the chapel. This chamber was part of the complex originally known; it is about 11 feet square and 12 feet high. Two rectangular openings in the roof indicate that it was originally a cistern, or at least at some time adapted as such, probably before the passage on the west side (D), to which we shall presently return, was opened out; obviously water could not stand in the chamber while this existed.

In 1889 the first discovery was made in connection with this crypt. The wall on the east side of the cistern-chamber just described was found to be only a few inches thick in some places, and on breaking through at the point C a second chamber, also originally a cistern, was brought to light. This chamber is longer and narrower than the first, being 20 feet 8 inches in length, and 6 feet 2 inches in breadth; it is about 8 feet in height. There is a hole in the centre of the roof, and another at the south end; the shaft with which the latter communicates curves considerably in its course, so that the upper orifice of the shaft is not vertically over the floor-area of the chamber at all. The walls are covered with ancient cement.

The passage D, which is partly cut in rock and partly runs through rough rubble masonry, is about 2 feet in height and 10 feet in total length. It breaks into the wall of the chamber (E) to which it leads, at a height of 6 feet 4 inches above its floor.

The latter chamber must have been cut through at the time of the restoration of the church for the building of a pier to support the great north-west pillar of the dome, but being full of earth it was not noticed. The pier exists as a great block of masonry masking the north-west corner of the chamber. It is 17 feet north to south, 19 feet east to west. The compass-bearing of the eastern wall is 334°.

Above this chamber is another (F), also square, and also interfered with by the substructures of the pier. The east wall of this chamber is 20 feet 5 inches long, and standing in a direction indicated by the compass reading 350°. The length of the room from east to west cannot be given, as no part of the west wall has been uncovered.

The walls of this chamber are covered with ancient cement, upon which are remains of coloured decoration. This is probably the oldest fragment of mural painting remaining in Jerusalem. Traces of painting have also been seen on the wall of the chamber E below, but I was unable to detect them.

The painting, as it remains, consists principally of vertical stripes of colour, each stripe 3 inches wide. The colours are green and red, with fine white lines between each stripe. In one or two places a broad band of a dirty brownish-yellow has been daubed, apparently, over the previously-existing colour scheme. There are traces of other devices, but I could make nothing definite of them. Père Cré suggested to me that one of these might be a fish; this is possible.

The floor of this chamber is covered with mosaic. The tesseræ are white or greyish-yellow, with a semée of red, not arranged in any definite pattern.

At some period later than the original use of the chamber, a furnace, or oven (G) has been constructed within it. This is built in a semi-circular form, in very rough masonry. The walls are blackened with smoke, and the tesseræ of the mosaic in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the furnace are calcined. The original walls of the chamber appear behind those of the furnace where these happen to be broken. As the floor of the furnace is cut to sink lower towards the back, the mosaic floor has been removed within the area of the furnace.

An indication of date is afforded by the fragments of pottery mixed with the mortar on the furnace walls. These are all Roman,

and as no later pottery makes its appearance we may conclude that the furnace is to be referred to the Roman period. The original chamber is therefore older.

The paragraph regarding these discoveries contributed to the *Quarterly Statement* of April, 1904, was written under a slight misapprehension. I understood at the time that these chambers had been discovered immediately before Père Cré had called my attention to them. As a matter of fact, they were found at the dates already mentioned, but for various reasons it had not been considered desirable to permit their publication till last year.

NOTES ON "THE ROMAN ROAD BETWEEN KERAK AND MADEBA."[1]

By Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D.

In my article on "The Roman Road between Kerak and Madeba" I stated (p. 47) that the name of the ruined town Libb "is not discoverable on ancient maps or records." But on reading since Books xiii and xiv of the *Antiquities* of Josephus, I have found twice mentioned the Moabite town Λεμβα or Λιββα, which is obviously the same as Libb. Once it occurs in a list of Moabite towns held by the Jews under Alexander Jannaeus (*Ant.* xiii, 15, 4), "Heshbon, Medaba, Lemba, Horonaim, Agelethon (? or Gaathon or Agalain Thona ?), Zoar"; and again in a list of towns which Alexander's son, Hyrcanus, promised to restore to the Nabateans (*Ant.* xiv, 1, 4), "Medaba, Libba, Nabaloth, Arabatha, Galanthone (? Agalla Athone ?), Zoar, Horonaim . . . . (?), Alousa, Orubda." After making this obvious identification I find that it has already been indicated by Professor Schlatter in the *Zeitschrift des Deutsch. Palästina Vereins*, vol. xix, p. 230.

On p. 42 of the same article I quote Father Durand's reading on a milestone of the name, Furius Severianus, legate under Caracalla. Professor Brünnow writes me that "the name is really Furnius Julianus. We found one of the milestones, and read distinctly FVRN▒MIV▒ANVM. There is only a P. Aelius Severianus, who was legate in A.D. 193 and 194."

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1905, pp. 39–48.

Professor Brünnow also writes on the differences between his and my numberings of the milestones between Madeba and the Wadi Wāleh :—"It is a difficult matter to settle. I based my computation entirely on the time we took in riding along the road; the distance between two consecutive milestones both here and on the road south of the Wady el-Hesā was, on level ground, on an average, about 17 minutes. If according to your calculation my seventh milestone is really the eighth, we should have averaged 14 minutes for each mile, which is, I think, too little, as we never went fast. The on the milestone does not absolutely prove that it is the eighth, as errors often occur on inscriptions of the later period. Only the milestones of the second century (especially Trajan's) are absolutely to be depended upon. The inscriptions marked (Do.) were read by my fellow traveller Professor v. Domaszewski, who is one of the foremost Latin epigraphists, and I hardly think he could have erred in his reading of the numeral xiii in the Wadi Wāleh . . . . I quite agree with you that you may be right in the numbering of the milestones from Madeba to Wadi Wāleh; but I only wished to show that my numbering was founded upon a certain amount of evidence."

With regard to Burckhardt's Ḳeṣur el-Besheir, one hour to the west of 'Ara'ir, which I failed to see or hear of (p. 41), Professor Brünnow thinks that it is simply due to an error on the part of Bruckhardt's editor. I quite agree with this; the name Ḳeṣur el-Besheir must therefore be eliminated from our maps on which it has stood so long.

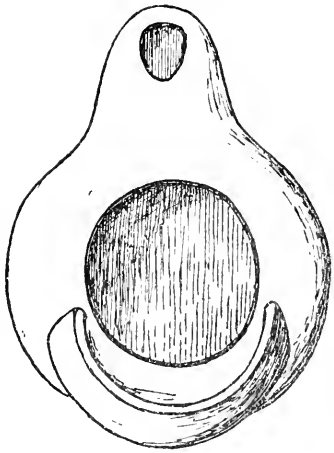
Finally, I have to correct two misprints in my article. On p. 42 Abu Ṣijan should read Abu Ṣighan, and on p. 46 البقيع should be البقيح.

LAMPS RECENTLY FOUND IN St. GEORGE'S COLLEGE, JERUSALEM.

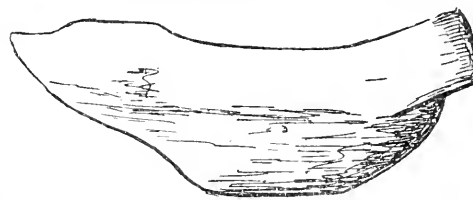
By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

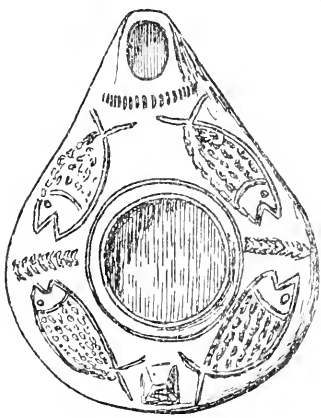
By kind permission of Bishop and Mrs. Blyth, I am enabled to submit a drawing of a lamp found in a tomb recently opened in the building operations at St. George's College. Several lamps were found, of which, I understand, Mr. Hanauer has already sent a

photograph. Nearly all of these were of common-place pattern, the ornament for the greater part consisting of radiating lines; one, with a trident on the base of the spout, was identical with four or five found in the tomb of Stephanos Philochristos at Gezer. None bore a formal inscription, though one had a meaningless symmetrical arrangement of letters upon it: ΑΝΟ.ΟΝΑ.



The example illustrated is remarkable for being ornamented with four fishes. Animal forms are, on the whole, uncommon on Palestinian lamps. The fish, no doubt, has a symbolic meaning when





1 inch

Lamps found in St. George's College.

it is employed; another example, in which, however, the drawing of the fishes is much more summary, was found in a Christian tomb at Gezer.

I send also a drawing of another lamp, found some time ago in another tomb at the same place. It is peculiar in having a horizontal loop-handle at the end, in a place that usually has at most a small ornamented knob. This type of lamp is very rare.

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS TAKEN IN JERUSALEM.[1]

By Adolph Datzi, Jerusalem.

The following tables show the result of meteorological observations taken in Jerusalem in 1904, about 2,500 feet above the level of the Mediterranean Sea. They were made at 9 a.m., with the barometer corrected for index error, not for temperature or elevation :—

Monthly Means, 1904.	Barometer.	Att.* Ther.	Thermometers.				Rain.		Winds.							
			Max.	Min.	Dry Bulb.	Wet Bulb.	Inches.	Days.	N.	N.E.	E.	S.E.	S.	S.W.	W.	N.W.
January	27·524	49	59·3	40·1	46·3	43·8	8·850	16	0	7	5	3	0	6	4	6
February	27·544	50	57·5	44·2	52·7	48·6	1·315	7	2	5	2	1	0	2	5	12
March	27·433	53	66·6	46·0	54·2	51·2	5·670	11	0	5	1	2	0	7	4	12
April	27·579	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	62·5	56·7	0·958	4	0	3	5	3	0	3	8	8
May	27·504	66	76·3	58·3	70·3	60·3	...	...	0	3	2	2	0	4	6	14
June	27·502	73	81·9	61·5	77·1	66·5	...	...	2	2	4	0	0	1	6	15
July	27·418	75	84·9	64·6	79·8	66·8	...	...	3	0	0	0	0	5	11	12
August	27·479	76	85·8	65·7	81·4	65·1	...	...	3	1	1	1	0	3	6	16
September ...	27·544	70	82·2	61·5	77·9	62·0	...	...	4	2	0	0	0	1	3	20
October	27·588	72	80·3	61·7	75·6	60·2	0·350	3	4	3	3	5	1	1	5	9
November ...	27·579	61	63·6	50·9	59·7	51·7	3·200	7	0	3	3	3	3	8	4	6
December ...	27·554	52	52·4	41·5	49·6	44·4	14·020	11	1	4	3	5	3	5	7	3
Year	27·512	63	70·3	53·9	65·5	56·6	34·485	59	19	38	29	25	7	46	69	133

* *i.e.*, the thermometer attached to the barometer itself.

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 161.

PALESTINIAN ANIMAL FOLK-LORE.

(*Concluded from "Quarterly Statement,"* 1904, *p.* 274.)

By the Rev. J. E. Hanauer.

7. To what I have said about the hyæna,[1] I would add that besides and in spite of the evil qualities popularly ascribed to it, the beast is said to have one good trait, namely, that of gratitude to those who treat it well. In proof of this the following interesting story is told :—

"A Bedouin having been found murdered, suspicion pointed to a young man in a certain village as the criminal, and although innocent, he had to flee from his home in order to escape from the vengeance of the murdered man's relatives. On his flight northwards he was met by an old man of his acquaintance who asked him where he was going, and who, when told why he had left his village, warned him from going further in the said direction, because the avengers of blood were ahead of and awaiting him. He, therefore, turned eastwards, but had not gone far before he met with another acquaintance who told him not to proceed any further that way, because a little further on there were other relatives of the murdered Bedouin lying in wait for him. On hearing this he turned westward, only to meet a third friend, who warned him that in that direction also a party of his enemies were on the look-out for him. In this dilemma he cried out 'O Allah, thou knowest that I am innocent, and yet, whichever way I turn, I shall meet with those who seek my life.' He then left the beaten track and went down a hillside which was وَعِر, *wa'ar*, *i.e.*, covered with thicket and brushwood, towards a valley where he knew of some caves, in one of which he hid. As soon, however, as he got used to the gloom he perceived to his horror that he was in the den of a female hyæna that, leaving a litter of cubs asleep, had gone abroad in search of prey. The unfortunate youth was just about to quit the fearful place in order to seek shelter elsewhere when he heard human footsteps approaching. Fearing that his foes had tracked him to his place of concealment he drew back into the darkest recess of the cave. A couple of minutes later he saw a man crawl in, take up

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 271 *sq.*

one hyæna's cub after the other and put it into his 'abba in order to carry them off for sale. By this time the fugitive had recognised the new-comer as an old friend of his, and, coming forward, he made himself known to him and begged him to spare the young creatures, stating that he was now tasting the bitterness of being hunted, and entreating his friend not to hurt the young hyænas, and then perhaps Allah would one day save both of them from evil. The man consented, and, having put down the cubs, left the cave, after having promised the fugitive not to betray his hiding place, but to come and tell him as soon as it would be safe for him to return to his friends. He had scarcely left the cavern when the female hyæna returned, and, perceiving a human being in the cave, was going to attack him, when the cubs rushed up, and by their yelping attracted her attention. After a good deal of hyæna-talk between her and her children, she seemed to understand that the man had been a protector to her little ones, and, like Androcles' lion, she showed her gratitude by bringing him food, not portions of dead carcases such as hyænas live upon, but hares, partridges, young kids, &c., which she had caught alive. In this way the young man lived as the hyæna's guest for some time, till at last his friend came and told him that, the real murderer having been found and punished, he could safely return home."

I relate the story as it was told me by a lady who had heard it from a fellaḥah. It seems to me to be Seneca's well-known tale of the runaway slave and his grateful king of beasts,[1] but in a South Palestinian modern fellaḥ dress. The lion has been extinct in Palestine for centuries, the leopard is rare, though occasionally met with, and so the hyæna, at present the largest of the South Judean carnivora (the bear being found only in the Lebanon and Anti-Libanus), and whose name, الضبع, Ed-Daba', is somewhat like the name, السَبع, Es-Saba', by which the lion is most frequently known, has taken his place in the legend.

8. As might have been expected, the serpent figures largely in the animal folk-lore of Palestine. The following may serve in illustration :—

"The serpent is the most accursed of all created things, and very treacherous. It is at the root of all the evil in the world.

[1] Mentioned first, so it is said, in his *De Beneficiis*.

Who does not know that when Iblis was refused admission into Paradise he went sneaking round the hedges and trying in turn to persuade and bribe the different animals to let him in. It was in vain, till the serpent bribed by the promise that, as a recompense, the sweetest food should be his, and on the suggestion of the Evil One that he would find that human flesh was the most delicious of all the eatables; introduced the Devil into the Garden, concealed in the hollow of his fangs. From this hiding place he spoke to Eve, who imagined that it was the serpent that was addressing her. What mischief resulted is well known. The serpent was, however, as he well deserved, cheated of his reward. It happened in the following manner:—When, after the Fall, an angel was appointed to assign to every creature its special food and country, the serpent shamelessly demanded that he should have human flesh for his sustenance, in accordance with the promise given him. Our father Adam, however, very naturally protested, and wisely pointed out that, as nobody had ever tasted human flesh or blood, it was impossible to maintain that men's flesh was the most luscious of food-stuffs. Thus he gained a year's respite for himself and his race, and, in the interval, the mosquito was deported to go round the world and taste the blood of every creature." (This it could, of course, do without injury to any animal, for the Anopheles' theory had not yet been invented.) "At the end of twelve months the mosquito was to report in open court on the result of its researches. Adam, however, had a faithful friend in the swallow. This bird, unseen by the mosquito, 'shadowed' it all the twelve months till the great day of decision came, when, as the mosquito was on his way to report on its investigations, the swallow met him openly and asked him what flesh and blood he had found to taste the best. 'Man's,' answered the mosquito. 'What?' said the swallow, 'please say it again, and loudly, for I hear badly.' On this the mosquito opened its mouth wide in order to shout the answer, when the swallow, with incredible swiftness, darted in his bill and plucked out the dangerous insect's tongue. They then proceeded on their way to the place where, by appointment, all living creatures were assembled to hear the final decision. On being asked the result of his investigations, the mosquito, who could now only buzz, was unable to make himself understood, and the swallow, pretending to be his spokesman, declared that the insect had told him that he had found that the blood of the frog

was the sweetest. In corroboration of his statement, he said that he had accompanied the mosquito on his travels, and many of the animals present, who had come from different remote regions, respectively testified that they had seen the mosquito and swallow at the same time in their special country of residence—one animal in such and such a month, and another at a different time of year. Sentence was therefore given that frogs, and not men, should constitute the serpent's nourishment. In its rage and disappointment, the deadly creature darted forward in order to seize and destroy the swallow. The latter, however, was on the alert, and so the serpent only succeeded in biting a bit out of its tail feathers, and ever since that time the philanthropic bird has had its tail forked. Baffled in this manner, the serpent, which was at that time a four-legged creature, and could in one hour travel as far as a man could walk in seven days, though it might neither devour men nor suck their blood, yet sought every opportunity for stinging and slaying men, and did no end of harm till the time of Suleiman (Solomon), the king and sage, who cursed the reptile so effectually that its legs fell off and it has had to crawl on its belly ever since."

NOTES ON BIBLICAL ANTIQUITIES.

By Colonel C. R. Conder, R.E., D.C.L., LL.D.

1. *Naaman and Elisha* (2 Kings v).—The narrative suggests that there was no great distance between the city where the King of Israel was living, the place where Elisha lived, and the Jordan: but no names of places occur, though the house of Elisha was on an *Ophel* or "knoll" (verse 24). Coming from Damascus, Naaman would cross the upper part of the Jordan Valley, probably by the Bethabara (*'Abârah*) ford, and the king may have been at Jezreel. North of Jezreel are the two villages *'Fûleh* and *'Afûleh*, which appear to be the two Ophels, mentioned in the list of conquests by Thothmes III, in this part of Lower Galilee. These places are all so near comparatively to the Jordan, that Naaman's journey, to and fro, in this narrative, and the communication between Elisha and the king, are easily explained, if the prophet was living at 'Afûleh —a place close to Shunem—which latter he was in the habit of visiting. (*See* 2 Kings iv).

2. *Uzziah and Azariah.*—The name of this king is thus variously given (2 Kings xiv, 21; xv, 1, 6, 7, 8, Azariah; 2 Kings xv, 13, 32, 34; 2 Chron. xxvi, 1, 3, 9, 11, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23; xxvii, 2; Isaiah i, 1; vi, 1; vii, 1, Uzziah). One reading occurs five times, and the other 16 times, so that a clerical error seems impossible. In the Assyrian chronicles this king is called *Az-ri-ya-a-u*, or Azariah, though this is the less frequent rendering in the Hebrew. The second syllable has, however, the sound *su* as well as *ri* in cuneiform. If the original document, used by the author of Kings, was written in cuneiform, these discrepancies might, perhaps, thus be explicable.

3. *Writing with Lead.*—A passage in Job (xix, 23, 24) as to monumental writing has always been difficult to understand. He speaks of writing "with an iron graver, and lead, for witness on a rock."

It is usually supposed that letters filled in with lead are intended; but not only are there no known instances, as far as I can find, of letters carved on stone being so filled in, but there would be great difficulty in doing so, and the result would not be legible.

It seems to me that "red lead" must be meant, namely, letters painted in red, after being incised. Now in the new texts of Bod-Ashtoreth found at Sidon (third century B.C.), we have an actual case of this being done. The inscribed tomb which I found on Carmel (*Memoirs*, vol. ii) also had its letters redded in, in the same way—probably about the second century A.D.

4. *Oboth* is a term used (Isaiah viii, 19; 1 Sam. xxviii, 7, 9) for "familiar spirits" (*'ôb*, plural *'ôbôth*, which, as a Semitic word, has been rendered "bottles." In Akkadian, however, we find the word *ubi* (rendered *ubatu* in Assyrian) with the meaning of a "charm." It is, perhaps, the Turkish *boi* "charm;" and the "master of the *ob*" was thus an "enchanter."

Parah.—In Jeremiah (xiii, 5), the prophet hides his girdle, according to the A. V., by "Euphrates" (פרתה) in a rock. As he was at the time in Palestine, and as no long journey is mentioned, it has been proposed to read Ephrath instead; but a more likely site would be Parah in his own tribe of Benjamin (Josh. xviii, 23), especially as this site is remarkable for its cliffs.

The Tapsar.—This term is rendered in Jeremiah (li, 27) and Nahum (iii, 17) "captain," and has been compared with the Akkadian *Dubsar;* "scribe," by Lenormant. It is evidently a

foreign word, but the rendering "scribe" does not appear suitable. In both cases the reference is to some foreign official, and the first passage reads :—

"Call together against her (Babylon) the Kingdoms of Ararat, Minni, and Ashkenaz, appoint a captain against her, cause the horses to come up as the rough (סמיר) caterpillars."

The reference is to the various tribes of Armenia combining against Babylon, these tribes being of Mongol and Aryan race (including the Medes, verse 28). Possibly the word "rough" may be rendered *Sumir* (סמיר), a people originally speaking Akkadian —"cause the horses to come up like caterpillars O Sumir." The rendering of the word טפסר by "Captain" is evidently more appropriate than "scribe," and the original word may be TAP-SAR, "Lord of the Host," the first element TAP being in Assyrian *sabatu*, "hosts." This explanation will, I believe, be found to be confirmed by the title used of a tributary chief, in the Tell Amarna letters from Ascalon. In this case, the mention of Sumir in the same connection is natural, as they were a people speaking the language in question. Babylon is thus represented as surrounded by the Minni on the north, the Medes on the east, and Sumir on the south.

Iscariot.—Judas Iscariot is generally supposed to have been a native of Corea, apparently on account of the reading *Cariot* in the Codex Bezæ (John xii, 4) : but this can hardly be preferred to the numerous readings which point to a place called *Ischar*. The latter (according to the Samaritan chronicle) was the old name of the present '*Askar*, near Jacob's Well—the Sychar of the Gospel (John iv, 5). In this case Judas was apparently a Samaritan.

The Seven Steps.—The Codex Bezæ is remarkable for interpolations not found in other MSS. of the New Testament. Among these it reads, in Acts xii, 10, "They went out, and went down the seven steps." The writer apparently was referring to steps leading from the Prætorium (in Antonia), where he supposes Peter to have been imprisoned, down to the street. No doubt such steps existed, as they still do. In the middle ages (*see* Zuallardo, &c.) the site of these was shown, and they were supposed to have been transferred to Rome to form the Scala Santa.

5. *Hittite Gods.*—The Hittite gods, known from Egyptian monuments, included Set, Istar, and probably, as Dr. Sayce has noted,

Tarku. The people called *SU* (in Assyrian, *kissatu*, or "multitude," probably the same as the Turkish word *soi*, "race"), who spoke the Akkadian language, also adored Istar, and in the enumeration of their gods we find mentioned the names of *Tartakhanu* and *Taraku*, in the great enumeration of gods worshipped in Assyria—both native and foreign—in the seventh century B.C. The first of these names appears to be in Akkadian "Lord of Justice;" the second may be connected with the common Turkish *Tur* for "deity." In Akkadian, the great god Ea is called *Dara* and *Tarakhu*. These names thus appear to connect the Hittites with the Akkadians. The symbolism of Hittite statues representing deities is also the same found among the Akkadians.

DEAD SEA OBSERVATIONS.

(*Continued from "Quarterly Statement,"* 1904, *p.* 281.)

By Dr. E. W. GURNEY MASTERMAN.

THE visits paid to the Dead Sea in the latter half of 1904 show a continued fall of level, and the lowest level of the season is 15½ inches lower than the lowest of last season, and 23½ inches lower than the level in April (1904). I have here to record two visits, one paid in August by Mr. Hornstein and myself together—an extra visit in anticipation of my departure to England—and the regular autumn one made by Mr. Hornstein alone in October.

SECOND VISIT TO 'AIN FESHKHAH, 1904.

Visit made from our school-boys' camp in *Wâdy Kelt* on afternoon of August 24th. After emerging from the wâdy we crossed the Jericho road and descended to the Jericho plain by the *Akbat esh-Sharîf*, an ancient route still used by some native travellers. On our whole route we encountered no human being.

Weather.—Early in the afternoon there was an east wind; this gradually became south-east; about 5.30 it dropped altogether, and soon after a strong, cool, north-west wind arose, which greatly moderated the sultry heat.

The atmosphere was far from clear. On our way to the Dead Sea the mountains to the east were very indistinct, especially where they stretched northwards. There was a large fire somewhere near the Jordan, to the north—probably due to some of the inhabitants consuming their superfluous *tibn*—and the smoke from this, together with that from the fire at *'Ain Feshkhah* (*see* below) hung like a long brownish

cloud along the level of the mountain summits. The mountains to the west were also somewhat misty. Later, as we returned, the atmosphere had cleared. The surface of the sea was smooth, and there were neither waves nor "white line."

State of the Level.—At the "observation place" a *fall* of 13½ inches since April. At the rock in the pool the level appears to have fallen 12 inches, but here exactitude was somewhat difficult, as the point from which I take the measurement, which I had painted white on my last visit, had been wilfully blown off by means of a small charge of gunpowder. This is the kind of thing the mischievous and suspicious *beduwy* loves to do.

Barometric Observations.—Mill at *Wâdy Kelt*, August 24th, 10 a.m., 30·3; *'Ain Feshkhah*, 6 p.m., 31·1; Jerusalem, August 25th, 10 a.m. 27·62.

General Observations.—Some half-a-dozen coneys seen among the rocks near the *'Ain*, tempted from their burrows by the commencing twilight. An unsuccessful shot caused their hasty retirement.

A large vulture was also found sitting on a rock near the *'Ain*. No water flowing from the *Hoish el-Mukdâm* (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 87). At the oasis we found three *Abu dis* men engaged in setting fire to the reeds. One who was near the road began to make off rapidly on our approach. The conflagration was gaining ground as we came, and dense volumes of smoke were ascending; some hour and a half later, when we were leaving in the gathering darkness, the fire had assumed large proportions, and the scene was picturesque in the extreme. The raging flames, alternately bursting out and dying down, illuminated the great columns of smoke and shed a lurid glare on the precipitous mountains to the west, while the full moon shed its silver light over the quiet sea to the east.

Third Visit to 'Ain Feshkhah, 1904.

This autumn visit was made by Mr. Hornstein on October 26th.

Weather.—Fine; atmosphere perfectly clear; wind north-west in the morning but changing to south-west in afternoon.

"White line" visible but somewhat broken; ran from north-east to south-west across the sea.

State of Level.—Still lower than in August. At observation place it had fallen 10 inches; at Pool, now very shallow, only 7 inches.

Barometric Readings.—October 25th, Jerusalem, 5 p.m., 27·6; Khan of Good Samaritan, 8 p.m., 29·4; October 26th, Jericho, 5 a.m., 30·5; 'Ain Feshkhah, 7·30 a.m., 31·4.

Temperature.—Air, 80° F.; water at *'Ain*, 75° F.

General Observations.—No people seen on route to the springs. In the afternoon some *Abadéyeh* Bedoin began descending the rocks above *'Ain Feshkhah* to water their flocks. Only small birds seen. The reeds over the large burned area brilliantly green and fresh.

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Recueil des Inscriptions Égyptiennes du Sinai, by Raymond Weill, Paris, 1904.—This important work consists of two parts. Part I includes chapters on the mineral districts of Sinai, and the routes to them from Egypt, with full descriptions of *W. Maghârah*, *W. Nasb*, and *Sarbut el-Khâdim*: and on the Egyptian establishments in the Peninsula, with an almost complete historical bibliography. In Part II are copies of all the Egyptian inscriptions, with translations, comments, and bibliography. The number now known is 144, but no doubt many will be added to these by Professor Petrie's expedition. M. Weill remarks (p. 60) that the presence of the Egyptians in the country was always temporary, and that no expedition remained longer than one season. The existence of the Egyptian monuments has consequently no bearing upon the questions connected with the Exodus and the position of Mount Sinai.

La patrie de Saint Jean-Baptiste, avec un Appendice sur Arimathie, by P. Barnabé Meistermann, O.F.M., Paris, 1904.—The place to which the Virgin went to visit her cousin Elizabeth is not clearly stated in Luke i, 39, and many identifications have been proposed. Amongst these are Machaerus, Samaria, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Hebron, Juttah, "Judah upon Jordan" (Josh. xix, 34), Beth Zacharia (*Beit-Skaria*), *Beit-Sh'ar*, and *'Ain Kârim*. Father Barnabé accepts *'Ain Kârim*, and brings forward many arguments in favour of that place. The tradition which places the birthplace of St. John the Baptist at *'Ain Kârim* is older than the time of the Crusades, and is not in disaccord with the data supplied by the Bible. At the same time, there is no very strong reason either for accepting or rejecting the tradition. The book contains full descriptions of the two houses of Zacharias, the Church of the Visitation, the Church of St. John the Baptist, and other holy places. The appendix is a discussion of the site of Arimathea, which is identified with *Ramleh*, where the Franciscans have built a large church dedicated to St. Joseph of Arimathea and St. Nicodemus.

Revue Biblique, January, 1905.—Fathers Jaussen, Savignac, and Vincent continue their report on 'Abdeh. The numerous rock-hewn tombs turned into dwelling places are described. Some have been altered but slightly. In others the graves have been almost destroyed, party walls have been built, and there is rude decorative painting, such as half-civilised nomads might be expected to produce. The tomb supposed to be that of Obodas has 22 graves arranged on three sides of a large rock-hewn chamber. It is clearly Nabatæan, and has certain features in common with tombs at Petra. The number also contains notes on inscriptions from *'Ammân*, *Kal'at ez-Zerka*, and other places east of Jordan; on a fragment of a Roman milestone of Marcus Aurelius and

Verus from *Kurget el-Enab*: on inscriptions and objects in the collection of Baron Ustinow at Jerusalem, including a plaque of pottery from *Beisân* (Scythopolis), with a figure in low relief which appears to represent a Scythian; and on the excavations of the Fund at Gezer.

'Abdeh (4–9, February, 1904).—A reprint from the *Revue Biblique* of the very valuable report, by Fathers Jaussen, Savignac, and Vincent, presented to the French Academy, which had entrusted a mission to the Negeb to the Biblical School of St. Stephen at Jerusalem.

Echos d'Orient, January, 1905.—Father Germer-Durand publishes new Greek and Latin inscriptions from Jerusalem, Gaza, and *Kurget el-Enab*, and a lead seal of Balian II, Lord of Neapolis (*Nâblus*), who defended Jerusalem against Saladin after the fatal battle of Hattîn. There is also an article on St. Barnasuph, who lived in the Monastery of Seridos, near Gaza, and died about A.D. 540.

Note sur la localité Palestinienne dite Maouza, ou Maôza de Jamnia, by M. A. Kugener, a reprint from the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, vol. ix, 1904.—Attention is drawn to the occurrence of the terms *Maouza of Jamnia* and *Maôza of Jamnia* in a letter and a petition of the sixth century. These terms supply the Greek transcript of a name—wrongly translated "vorstadt" (suburb) by M. Raabe—which is mentioned four times in its Aramæan form in the Syriac version of Peter the Iberian. The signatures show that there was a Greek Convent of St. Stephen, named after a Church of St. Stephen built by the Empress Eudocia at *Maouza of Jamnia* in A.D. 536. M. Kugener agrees with M. Clermont-Ganneau in identifying Maouza with *Minat Rubîn*, a little more than four miles north-west of *Yebna* (Jamnia).

Ba'albek, by H. Savoy.—A short description of the ruins since the completion of the German excavations. A reprint from the *Revue de Fribourg*, December, 1904.

Le Palais de Caïphe et l'ancienne basilique de St. Pierre au Mont Sion, by Fathers Dressaire and Jacquemier, Augustinians of the Assumption.—There is a useful summary of the information available for the identification of the two places. The pamphlet forms part of the somewhat heated controversy between the Franciscans and the Augustinians respecting the sites of certain holy places.

Jerusalem, No. 7, 1905, contains the record of a pilgrimage made by a Capuchin in 1625, which gives interesting information respecting the ownership of holy places in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It would appear that at that date the Georgians had recently handed over, as guarantee for a debt, their rights in the altar on Calvary to the Greeks. There is also an account, from the Latin side, of the conflict between the Franciscans and the Greek clergy on January 7th last, at Bethlehem.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins, vol. xxviii, Part I.—The papers, "studies" emanating from the German Evangelical Archæological Institute at Jerusalem, are continued. The places and boundaries of Galilee, according to Josephus, are discussed by Mr. W. Oehler, who identifies Taricheae with *Mejdel*, the village Kepharnôkos (*Vit.*, § 72) with *Tell Hûm*, and the spring Kapharnaum, or Kepharnômos, with *'Ain et-Ṭâbigha*. The identifications are shown on a map. Dr. Dalman, the Director of the Institute, writes on the "half acre of land" (1 Sam. xiv, 14) and length of the furrow, and on the size of the stripes covered by the sower and reaper, as mentioned in the Bible, and the Mishna: and on corn and land measure in Palestine. Dr. Nestle points out that the true reading of Golgotha is probably Gagoltha, and corrects some errors in Klostermann's edition of the Onomasticon of Eusebius.

Mitt. und Nach. des D.P.V. 1904, No. 6.—Dr. E. Kautsch supplies some additional notes on the "lion" seal found at Megiddo. The seal appears to have been engraved by a Canaanite engraver in Palestine, who worked from a Babylonian model.

Altneuland, 1904, No. 12.—Papers on mills in Palestine, and the sharing of profits in agricultural pursuits. Mills worked by petroleum motors are largely on the increase.—1905. No. 1. A paper on the work of the Jews in Palestine during 1904; and the programme of a society, "Bezalel," for the establishment of house industries and art products in Palestine. It is proposed to establish Art Schools, and to train those of sufficient ability in the manufacture of carpets, textiles, and artistic works in wood, earthenware, metal, and stone. No. 2 contains an interesting paper written 20 years ago by Professor Fürrer in reply to questions submitted to him by Russian-Jewish students at the University, Zurich. The question "Is the emigration of the Jews of Eastern Europe to Palestine to be recommended?" was answered by an emphatic "Yes."

Biblical World, vol. xxv, No. 2.—"The Pool of Bethesda," by Dr. Masterman, who follows Robinson and Conder in placing the pool near the Fountain of the Virgin, without, however, giving any additional evidence for this view. His arguments against the pool near the Church of St. Anne seem weak. No competent authorities place that pool "within the city in New Testament times," and the large twin pools, supplied from some unknown source and still imperfectly explored, can hardly be called "a rain-filled cistern." In "the latest discoveries in Palestine" Professor Sayce refers to the results obtained by excavation at Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo. He remarks on the proof given by the Taanach tablets that "the natural and native script of Canaan was the cuneiform of Babylonia in which the State archives were kept." The painted pottery found at Gezer in the fourth city, just before the arrival of the Israelites, is Hittite, and was derived from the Hittite capital at *Boghaz Keui*. The foreign pottery of the city which followed the

conquest of Gezer and Lachish by the Hebrews is Cretan in origin and marks the advent of the Philistines. At Taanach, on the other hand, the pottery is Cypriote, and so remained for several centuries.

Archæological Discoveries as related to the Bible, by Rev. J. Easter, Ph.D., Clifton Springs, New York.—A paper drawing attention to some of the principal results of recent research.

C. W. W.

Études sur les Religions Sémitiques, by Le P. Marie-Joseph Lagrange (second edition, 1905).—Père Lagrange's work is unmistakably one of the most valuable contributions to the study of Semitic religion since Robertson Smith's epoch-making *Religion of the Semites*. The author is especially well known to readers of the *Quarterly Statement* for his scholarly work in connection with the *Revue Biblique*, as also for his courtesy and kindness to the Fund displayed on so many occasions. The present volume will increase his already deservedly high reputation, and it is safe to say that no student of religion, least of all of Semitic religions, can afford to ignore Lagrange's careful study. It is a work which will rank high for its scholarship and critical acumen, and though it has not the brilliance which marked the author of the *Religion of the Semites*, it is thoroughly systematic, and has the special advantage of paying every regard to the evidence from Babylonia and Assyria. The second edition contains several improvements and some additional matter, but the general character of the work remains unchanged. In an introductory chapter the author deals with the origin of religion and mythology. This is followed by a general survey of the Semites—for the author correctly speaks of Semitic religions, not religion. Chapters on the chief gods and goddesses, ideas of holiness and impurity, sacred objects (waters, trees, enclosures, stones), sacred persons, sacrifice, and sacred seasons, deal comprehensively with the available evidence under their several heads. "Death and the Dead" is the title of the chapter which those who are interested in eschatological problems should carefully notice. The myths of the Babylonians and Phœnicians comprise a careful *résumé* of many familiar stories in the light of recent research, and the concluding chapter handles the character and historical development of Semitic religions. By way of an appendix the author has added a number of religious texts from the Canaanite and Aramæan inscriptions with translation and notes.

S. A. C.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *Inscribed Lamps.*—The lamps described by Mr. Macalister in the *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1904, pp. 348–9, led to interesting comparisons, and were the basis of an illustrated paper recently read by me before the American Institute of Archæology. For some ten years I had owned a lamp having the inscription ΦΩC XY ΦEN ΠACIN, and had placed a cut of it on the stationery used for Fund business. Mr. Macalister's analysis of the confused form of this inscription (January, 1904, p. 24) led up to the decipherment of other cases, in the Harvard Semitic Museum and elsewhere. The lamps figured by Dr. Bliss (*Excavations*, 1894–7, Plate XXVI) are all plain, if we note that the two letters repeated on one are simply ΦΩ. Of course, the KC ΦΩTICMOC MOY of *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1904, p. 349, is the Septuagint version of Psalm xxvii (xxvi), 1. In connection with these ΦΩC lamps, it is important to consider M. Clermont-Ganneau's explanation derived from St. Basil's liturgy used at the Holy Fire festival. This may be found in *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, 1888, p. 171. The words, "The light of Christ shines for all," come in substance from John's Gospel i, 9, and First Epistle ii, 8. In this connection it will be interesting to turn back to *Quarterly Statement*, 1892, p. 40, and examine the ten lamp inscriptions given there by Mr. G. Robinson Lees. He says that he copied them carefully from the originals. He did not read them. These copies will show that they are either the full or abbreviated ΦΩC inscription or (4, 8, and, perhaps, 9) the familiar ΛYXNAPIA KAΛA.

PROF. T. F. WRIGHT.

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2. *The "Neolithic Altar" at Gezer.*—In Mr. Macalister's seventh report upon the excavations at Gezer (April, 1904), he described the discovery of a cave situated at the summit of the hill, having a "concealed entrance," a "secret passage," and a "shoot" leading through the roof (p. 113). The mass of rock which forms the roof of the cave is stated to have been a neolithic altar, and the "shoot" is said to be "admirably adapted for conveying downwards the blood from sacrifices or other fluid offerings."

The interesting photograph which accompanies the description recalls in general form the Sakhra rock in the Haram at Jerusalem, which also has other strikingly similar features to those as described at Gezer. The Sakhra resembles the Gezer altar in position, and also has beneath it the cave, the "secret passage" and the "shoot" leading from the surface to the cave, and although possibly these may have been altered or modified by subsequent working, they still seem to present essentially the same original characteristics.

These facts suggest that the Sakhra itself may also originally have been a neolithic altar, very much of the type of that at Gezer.

If such were the case, it would be quite in the nature of things that a kind of "odour of sanctity" should linger round the spot for ages after.

It may have been to this ancient altar that Abraham brought his son Isaac for sacrifice, if, indeed, this Moriah can be identified with the Moriah of the narrative, which, however, may be very doubtful.

In any case, it was here that David, on the occasion of the staying of the plague (2 Sam. xxiv, 25; 1 Chron. xxi, 26), "built an altar to the Lord," at the direction of the prophet Gad. The position is pretty clearly identified with that afterwards occupied by the Temple altar, by David's declaration, "This is the house of the Lord God, and this the altar of burnt-offering for Israel."

The rock was at that time being used by Araunah, "the king" (marg.), as a threshing-floor, and its importance is increased as we regard it as part of the possessions of the dethroned Jebusite ruler.

That the cave was actually existing at that time may be suggested when we read that at the approach of David the four sons of Araunah "hid themselves."

It would have been difficult for them to do so on the bare, rocky hill-top, were it not that the cave was accessible. We read, also, that Araunah "*went out* of the threshing-floor" to meet David.

The cave might then have been used as a granary, and the "shoot" as an easy means for conveying the grain into it.

W. Clarkson Wallis.

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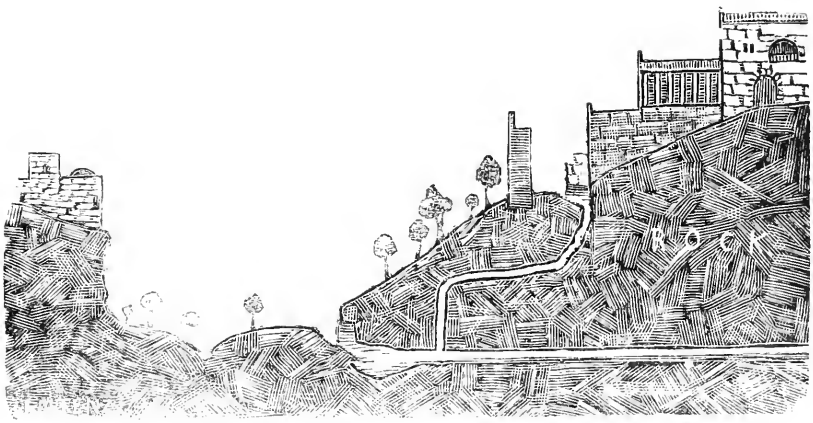
3. *Millo, and the City of David.*—From a military point of view the south-west hill, or traditional Zion of the present city, was far

more suitable for a fort, on account of its natural strength; but the Jebusites built their fortress where they could have a good supply of fresh water from the fountain of Gihon (Virgin's Well); and according to Neh. iii, 15, 16, and xii, 37, the prominent declivity south of the Temple area, was, no doubt, the site of the stronghold of the Jebusites. The situation was also favourable for a royal palace, and a little below was a good plot of land for the king's garden, with another supply of water from En-Rogel. Provision was also made to get water from the fountain of Gihon to within the wall of the fortress by means of a rock-cut passage in case of a siege, when the entrance of the fountain in the valley



Section showing Rock-cut Passage and Aqueduct to the Pool of Siloam.

below would have been covered and concealed from the enemies, as it was done in the time of Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxxii, 3, 4, and 30). The passage was discovered by Sir Charles Warren. It is also believed that Joab went up by this rock-cut passage to the fort of the Jebusites.

Solomon built the Temple on Mount Moriah, and brought the Ark of God out of the City of David, which was Zion, and placed it in the most holy place in the Temple. From that time, the name Zion was not only given to the City of David, but also to the Temple with its courts, and to Jerusalem. In allusion hereto, the Church of Christ, or heaven, is called by that name.

Solomon, after he finished the building of the House of the Lord and his own house, also built (or rebuilt) Millo, and the walls of Jerusalem (1 Kings ix, 15, 24). The wall of Ophel, of which extensive remains were discovered by Sir Charles Warren, may also have been the work of Solomon, to unite his palace with Millo. Solomon's palace joined the south wall of the Temple, and was the residence of the Kings of Judah until the time of Zedekiah. Jotham and Manasseh, built much on the wall of Ophel, and raised it up to a very great height. No doubt this was partly done to protect the king's palace. Hezekiah repaired Millo in the City of David, and made darts and shields in abundance (2 Chron. xxvii, 3; xxxii, 5). Millo appears to be identical with the Armoury, or Tower of David (Song of Songs, iv, 4).

Sir Charles Warren discovered a great part of the Ophel wall. In some places its remains are still from 40 to 60 feet in height above the rock level, and 14 feet in thickness, but buried in rubbish, and nothing to be seen above the present level of the ground. The wall was traced for 700 feet from the first tower near the south-east corner of the Haram wall. Two hundred feet further, in a straight line with the wall, and about 12 feet below the present level of the ground, is a rocky knoll with massive walls of some important buildings, which may be the remains of the Armoury, or Millo in the City of David. David dwelt in the stronghold, and he built round about, even from Millo round about; and Joab repaired the rest of the (upper) city which is now the traditional Zion, while the site of the original Zion is ploughed over, and was for many centuries forgotten. On three sides, the City of David was surrounded by valleys, but on the north, more important fortifications were required as it was on rising ground. So notable a building as Millo would have been a formidable protection to the City of David, and after, also of great importance to Solomon and successive kings.

J. M. Tenz.

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4. *The Cuneiform Tablet Discovered at Lachish.*—The Assyriologist is now in a position to give a translation of the Lachish tablet which is more correct than anything that could have been attempted at the time it was found. The linguistic peculiarities of what may be called Tel el-Amarna Assyrian are now known, and more than one Assyriologist has made a copy of the original

at Constantinople, though it must be confessed that the copies are not always an improvement upon those made from the cast, which proves to have been an exceptionally good one. The corrected text of the letter is as follows: (1) [ana amil] rab ša (?) ṣabi (?) (2) [kibi umma] . . a-bi (3) a-na šêpi-ka am-ku-ut (4) lu-u ti-i-di i-nu-ma (5) tu-ra-tu-na DI-TAR-AN-IM (6) u Zi-im-ri-da (7) pu-khi-ri ala u (8) iq-ta-bi-mi (9) DI-TAR-AN-IM a-na Zi-im-ri-da (10) a-bi Is-ya-ra-mi (11) ša-par-mi a-na ya-a-ši (12) [u id]-na-ni-mi (13) II GIS-sibir u III GIR-AB (14) u III nam-za-ru-ta (15) šum-ma-mi a-na-ku (16) uz-zu-na eli mati (17) ša šarri u a-na ya-ša (18) en-mi-ib-ša-ta (19) u a-di-mi u-ti-ru-mi (20) šu-ut mu-ul-ka (21) ša u-ra-ad-du-ka (22) ka (?)-a-bu u uš-ši-ir-šu (23) a-na pa-ni-ya u (24) [i-na-an-na] Ra-bi-ilu u-wa-ši-ra (25) [u šutu] yi-bal-šu (26) a-ma-ti an-ni-ti.

This should be translated: "[To] the commander of the militia (?) [thus says] . . . -abi: at thy feet I fall. Thou must know that Dan-Hadad and Zimrida have gone down to summon the city to service, and Dan-Hadad has said to Zimrida: 'My father Is-yara has sent to me [and has] given me 2 clubs and 3 swords (*kharab*) and 3 falchions. If I march against the (Egyptian) king's land and you join me, I will exchange oaths (with you). As for the eunuch (?) whom I have sent to thee, he is (trustworthy ?) and do thou send him to me, and [then] I will send Rabiel and he will give him this message."

The letter was never intended to be seen by the Egyptian Government, for it was the secret communication of one conspirator to another. Among the Tel el-Amarna letters is one from the Egyptian Foreign Office, in which a sharp rebuke is administered to the Amorite prince, Aziru, who is accused of having associated himself with rebels, and is ordered to send certain of them in chains to Egypt. One of the prisoners is the very Yis-yara or Is-yara who is mentioned in the Lachish tablet. To call out the militia of a Canaanitish State without the authorisation of the Imperial Government was to usurp the functions of the latter, and was therefore equivalent to rebellion. The insurrection, however, came to nothing; Is-yara was despatched to an Egyptian prison, and we learn from a letter of the king of Jerusalem that Zimrida, who had been Governor of Lachish, was put to death by the servants of the Egyptian king. A new governor of Lachish was appointed by the name of Yabriel, who is mentioned in the letter of a certain

Hadad-dan. Hadad-dan may possibly be the Dan-Hadad of the Lachish tablet.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

5. *Paran on the Egyptian Monuments.*—Three years ago M. Legrain uncovered for the first time the last line of the famous geographical list of Shishak at Karnak, and thereby disclosed a number of fresh names. The last name in the list is H-a-m, written Hum' by Thothmes III, in whose Palestine list it is the last name but one. We can hardly compare the Ham of Gen. xiv, 5, as this seems to be Ammon. H-a-m is preceded by Â-n-p-r-n, and that again by L-b-a-n and R-p-ḥa, the last of which is Raphia, which marks the present boundary between Egypt and Turkey. Leban may be the Laban of Deut. i, 1, and Ân-Paran would be in Hebrew letters (פארן) עין־פרן, that is to say, "The Spring of Paran." We are reminded by the name—which has thus been found for the first time in an ancient inscription—of the "well" which Hagar found in the wilderness of Paran (Gen. xxi, 19, 21). The position of Paran, southward of Raphia, is thus definitely fixed. The Egyptians were evidently as little acquainted as the Hebrews with a Paran in the Peninsula of Sinai, to which, by the way, the Amalekites of the Old Testament have been transported by modern exegetes, 1 Sam. xv, 2, 7 notwithstanding.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

6. *Deuteronomy* i, 1.—In this verse the *'arabah* "over against Sûph" is defined as being "between Paran on the one side and Tophel and Laban and Hazeroth and Di-Zahab on the other." We have seen that Paran and Laban are similarly coupled together in the geographical list of Shishak (Note 5, above); Tophel, I cannot help thinking, is the Nuphel of that list, and should be corrected accordingly; while the name of Di-Zahab indicates that gold was found in its neighbourhood. It was probably near the Mê-Zahab of Gen. xxxvi, 39, if not identical with it. Mê-Zahab has sometimes been explained to mean "golden-coloured water," but the conceit, though poetical, is European and not ancient Semitic.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

7. *Callirrhoe : Machaerus ; 'Ataroth.* I hope to contribute a paper on these three to the next *Quarterly Statement*, with a plan or two. In the meantime I may say that I am more than ever convinced that Callirrhoe is not the Hammām ez-Zāra, as first Dechent and most recently Professor Musil (in a review of Professor Brünnow's *Die Provincia Arabia*, vol. i, in the *Wiener Zeitschr. f. Kunde des Morgenlandes*) have argued, but the stream of the Wady Zerḳā Ma'īn, where the hot springs flow into it. Professor Brünnow writes me that he supports this, the usual, identification.

We must distinguish under Machaerus two places of the name town and fortress. The ruins of the town Machaerus, still under the name Mkawr, lie on the western edge of the Moabite Plateau, south of the Wady Zerḳā Ma'īn. The fortress Machaerus lay a mile farther west, on a knoll upon one of the buttresses of the plateau, which knoll, with the ruins on it, is called to-day Ḳaṣr el-Meshneḳah, or "The Gallows-Castle."

There are also two sites which at present bear the name 'Aṭṭarus ('Aṭarōth). From 3 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east-north-east across the plateau from the town of Machaerus are the considerable ruins called Khurbet 'Aṭṭārūs or Ḳuriat 'Aṭṭārūs, with remains of ancient walls, and in the neighbourhood a large sanctuary. The wady, which on the eastern side of the town runs southward and in the distance (perhaps $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles off) passes the ruins called Ḳureyāt, the ancient Ḳiriathaim, bears the name W. Tala'at el-'Arāis. Two or $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles north-east of the Khurbet 'Aṭṭārūs is the Rujm 'Aṭṭārūs, a great mound of ruined stone, with traces of an ancient wall on its north side. It stands on the brink of the deep valley of the Zerḳā Ma'īn, just above where the valley, after having run due south, bends at a right angle to the west. The Reduced Map of the Fund therefore places Ataroth (Attarus) too much to the east for either of the two localities which now have the name 'Aṭṭārūs.

PROF. G. A. SMITH.

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8. *The Fund's Exhibit at St. Louis.*[1]—It so happened that on the same day I had the pleasure of meeting in Boston the British Royal Commissioner to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Colonel C. M. Watson, and of reading in the *Boston Transcript* an account

[1] [Prof. Wright's interesting communication reached us at the moment of going to press; we may refer readers to the previous paragraphs on the St. Louis Exposition which appeared in Notes and News, p. 2, and 1904, p. 2.—ED.]

of the large meeting of Sunday School teachers, held weekly in the central Park Street church, which account ends with the words:—"The Evangelistic Association, under whose auspices this teachers' class is held, has generously provided the class with a fine Raised Map of Palestine the very map that won the medal at the recent St. Louis Exposition."

The pleasure of knowing that our large raised map is so well advertised every week warms one's heart as well towards Colonel Watson, because he has done so much to insure the successful installation of our exhibit and the final disposal of its contents to purchasers. The exhibit had a space of 18 feet by 12 in the centre of the Liberal Arts building. Three sides of this space were enclosed, and on these walls hung at the head the great plan of Gezer in colours, showing periods of its history as laid bare by excavations, and on the sides were maps large and small, and a series of framed and enlarged photographs representing discoveries in Gezer. On the floor at the head stood a case showing, under glass, the publications and many objects found. In the middle of the floor stood the large raised map, covered with glass, and resting on a table of convenient height. The small raised map and models of Sinai and Jerusalem stood properly spaced on the central line. I should add that large photographs of the Siloam inscription and the Hamath inscriptions were also framed upon the wall.

It was a great satisfaction to spend some weeks in so perfect an exhibit, to know and feel the especial interest of the Commissioner, and to hear daily expressions of the benefit received by visitors as they came to understand the nature of our work. Even fervent blessings were invoked upon our work by several lovers of the Bible, who declared that one excavation like that of Gezer is of more value than years of mere philological study.

The Fund has been so kind as to present to me the smaller raised map, which I have placed where it will serve well as a means of selling other copies. The service rendered personally by Colonel Watson has been so great as to be beyond the power of the Fund to compensate, but I would express the hope that the General Committee will make its gratitude plain to him at the next annual meeting, if not before. By the way, he was the first to get his art exhibit before the public, and he is the first of the Commissioners of the larger nations to complete his business, which has had an arduous closing in the unusual cold of the last winter.

Cambridge, Mass. PROF. T. F. WRIGHT.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE HEBREW AND ARABIC CONSONANTS.

א	ʾ or at beginning of word omit.	כ ך	k (*or* kh).
		ל	l.
ב	b.	מ ם	m.
ב	b (*or* bh).	נ ן	n.
ג	g.	ס	s.
ג	g (*or* gh).	ע	ʿ.
ד	d.	פ ף	p.
ד	d (*or* dh).	פ	p (*or* ph)
ה	h.	צ ץ	ṣ.
ו	w, v.	ק	ḳ (*or* q).
ז	z.	ר	r.
ח	ḥ (*or* ḫ, never h).	שׂ	s (*or* ś).
ט	ṭ.	שׁ	sh (*or* š).
י	y.	ת	t.
כ	k.	ת	t (*or* th)

ا	ʾ or at beginning of word omit.	ص	ṣ.
		ض	ḍ.
ب	b.	ط	ṭ.
ت	t.	ظ	ẓ.
ث	th.	ع	ʿ.
ج	j (*or* ǵ).	غ	gh (*or* ġ).
ح	ḥ.	ف	f.
خ	kh (*or* ḫ).	ق	ḳ (*or* q).
د	d.	ك	k.
ذ	dh.	ل	l.
ر	r.	م	m.
ز	z.	ن	n.
س	s.	ه	h.
ش	sh (*or* š).	و	w.
		ي	y.

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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

The Committee desire to appeal very earnestly to subscribers and their friends to assist them in completing the Excavations of Gezer as thoroughly as possible before the expiration of the extension of time granted by the Sultan. *Special donations* are invited.

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury has kindly consented to take the chair at the Annual General Meeting at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, and has appointed three o'clock on Friday, July 14th. Tickets of admission will be issued to subscribers and their friends on application to the Acting Secretary at the office of the Fund. Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., F.R.S., will explain the progress of the excavations at Gezer, and the meeting will probably also be addressed by Professor George Adam Smith, the Rev. Dr. Horton, Professor Flinders Petrie, Dr. Masterman, and others.

The Twelfth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of Gezer comprises the results of the further excavation of the castle, the discovery of what appears to be an early palace site, and the usual small objects, this time of more than ordinary interest. The palace has been found to contain a large pillared hall, which in all probability was of such a kind as that famous as the scene of Samson's last great exploit at Gaza; and Mr. Macalister, from the architectural details of the building at Gezer, has been able to furnish a very plausible explanation of the manner in which Samson's feat (which has always been a problem) was actually carried out. Another building appears to have had a religious

object; below it were found the remains of foundation sacrifices, and among the débris were several interesting objects, including a figure of the Goddess of Fertility, and a specimen of the rare marriage-scarab of Amen-hotep. In addition to numerous lesser Egyptian objects, a great variety of seals and seal impressions were unearthed, some of them being of very interesting types, whilst others raise important questions. Among the miscellaneous objects are to be reckoned marked weights, the fragment of a beautiful lekythos ornamented in black and red, and a small stone box covered with the quaintest of drawings. Last, but not least, another cuneiform tablet has been found.

The new cuneiform tablet[1] was found near and in the same stratum as that discovered just a year ago. On these grounds Mr. Macalister concluded "that probably it is of much the same date." As a matter of fact, it is of 647 B.C., *i.e.*, only *two years* later than the former fragment, and this, as Dr. Pinches writes, "naturally tells against any suggestion that the fragments were brought to Gezer with the intention of 'salting' the site, for it is exceedingly unlikely that, by mere chance, fragments of so nearly the same date should have fallen, for that purpose, into the hands of the 'salter.' The name of the seller, too, implies that he was a native of the district where the fragment was found. It is the Biblical Nethaniah." Among the witnesses are named Zēr-ukin and Nergal-šar-uṣur (Neriglissar), which, as Dr. Pinches points out, are distinctly Assyro-Babylonian names, and it is further noteworthy that Natan-iau, who was probably a Jew, had a seal with a lunar emblem upon it. A cast and photographs of the tablet have been sent to the office of the Fund, and a full account of the tablet with the Assyrian text, transliteration and translation are published in the present number.

The special donations during the quarter to the expenses of the Excavation of Gezer comprise the following:—A. Ashley Bevan, Esq., Professor of Arabic, Cambridge, £50; Miss Agnes Bayly, £10 10*s.*; James Hilton, Esq., £10; The "Origen" Society, Oxford, £5; W. Herbert Phillips, Esq., £5; smaller amounts, £7 5*s.*: bringing the total up to £1,062 3*s.* 2*d.*

[1] *See* below, pp. 185, 206 *sqq.*, 272.

Subscribers are warned against purchasing from dealers, whether in this country or in Palestine, any antiquities as coming from particular sites which have been excavated by the Fund. All antiquities found in those sites by the officers of the Fund are scrupulously handed over to the Turkish Government, and any found by the illicit digging of natives are, when sold by them to dealers, invariably attributed to sites other than those from which they really come, lest the diggers be discovered and punished.

The Committee, finding that interruption to the work at Gezer is frequently caused by the visits of persons who are neither supporters of the Fund nor have any real interest in the objects of the excavations, have instructed Mr. Macalister to refuse access to the works to persons whose visits seem to be due to idle curiosity, or who cannot give some evidence of a genuine interest in the objects of the Fund.

Visitors to the site require Mr. Macalister's guidance and explanations, which he readily gives to subscribers or authorised visitors. But no one can be allowed to wander over the site at will. Instances have occurred of the workpeople being invited (even by circular) to sell antiquities—a form of dishonesty fatal to the value of the excavations, and exposing the delinquents to severe punishment, for all antiquities found are the property of the Ottoman Government. Apropos of this, we would call attention to the steps which have been taken to make the collection of antiquities belonging to the Turkish Government readily accessible. Professor Sayce's account (*see* "Notes and Queries," pp. 269, 270) of the care which has been taken to arrange the objects scientifically, and testimony of the generous freedom allowed to scholars, combine to make the Museum at Constantinople one of the best in Europe, and its treatment of scholars the most liberal.

The Committee regret to announce the death of Mr. Edward Atkinson, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., Consulting Surgeon of Leeds Infirmary, who died 1st March, 1905, aged 75. He began his professional career as Ship's Surgeon, and served in the Hospital at Scutari as Civil Surgeon when Miss Nightingale was nursing there, and, after that, in the British Hospital at Smyrna. He then spent four years in Jerusalem as Surgeon to the English Hospital and the Prussian Deaconesses' Hospital. He became Surgeon to the Leeds Public

Dispensary in 1864, and 10 years later to the Infirmary. For 20 years, from 1868 to 1888, he acted as Honorary Local Secretary to the Palestine Exploration Fund, and during that time collected about £750 for the Fund.

The Committee have heard with deep regret that Father Vincent, of the Biblical School of St. Stephen at Jerusalem, has been obliged to give up work and take a prolonged rest in France. The learned Dominican, who is a leading authority on questions connected with the topography and archæology of Jerusalem and the Holy Land, is well known from his contributions to the *Revue Biblique*. His communications are remarkable for their accuracy and the keen powers of observation which they display; and his high appreciation of the value of the results obtained by the excavations at Gezer, and of the manner in which the work has been carried out by Mr. Macalister, has more than once been brought to the notice of subscribers to the Fund. The Committee trust that Father Vincent's health will be completely restored, and that he will be able to resume work which he has so much at heart.

Professor Dr. Sellin has closed his excavations at Taanach, and will publish a complete account of them this year. He has kindly forwarded a short summary of his work at the *Tell* last August and September, from which it appears that he discovered seven new cuneiform letters more or less damaged, and the skeleton of a Canaanite lady surrounded by the skeletons of five children from about four to sixteen years of age. A bronze knife, found amongst the remains, seems to point to a tragedy which must have occurred shortly before everything was covered up, for the ornaments of the lady, the large jars for holding provisions, and a little bronze figure of Astarte, fixed in a corner of the room, were found untouched. Amongst the jewels were a gold band for the forehead, eight gold rings—some for the ears, others for the neck—two silver rings, bronze armlets, three small crystal cylinders, five pearls, two scarabs—one of amethyst, the other crystal—&c. The most interesting letter reads as follows :—"To Ištarwašur; Amanḫašir, may Adad preserve thee! Send thy brothers with their carts, and send a horse, thy tribute, and presents, and all prisoners who are with thee, to Megiddo on the day of the reception." (*See* also *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 98.)

Professor Sellin hopes, during his next visit to Palestine, to excavate *Tell Dôthân*, Dothan.

At *Tell Mutesellim* (Megiddo), Dr. Schumacher is understood to have found, at a depth of more than 30 feet below the surface, a series of vaulted tombs which date from about 2000 B.C. The graves contained pottery and Egyptian scarabs in a fine state of preservation.

Excavations are being made by the German Oriental Society in the Synagogue at *Tell Hûm*; and it is proposed to examine all the synagogues in Galilee.

Dr. Torrance writes from Tiberias, under date March 23rd, 1905:—"We are having a splendid rainfall this year. We have up till to-day from the commencement of the rain 22·5 inches, whereas last year (rainy season) we had to corresponding date 11·92 inches, and for the whole season only 12·64 inches. We are expecting a splendid harvest this year, and I have never seen the flowers so profuse. Unfortunately, the peasants in this district have suffered from a severe loss of their cattle through 'cattle plague,' over 60 per cent. having succumbed."

"Railway trains are running regularly thrice weekly from Haifa to the Jordan bridge 'Jisr el-Majamia.' The iron bridge over the Yarmuk is nearing completion, and in about a month we expect the line to be laid to Samakh, at the south end of the lake. The contractors are very busy in the Yarmuk Valley, right on to Tel esh-Shehâb, building bridges, &c., and I believe they are finding the work more difficult than they anticipated. From Damascus, the line is laid as far as Tel esh-Shehâb. Great efforts are being made to finish this line as soon as possible." In a subsequent letter (May 22nd), Dr. Torrance writes that the railway has now reached Samagh.

Among the objects exhibited at St. Louis and now returned are casts of the Siloam and Hamath inscriptions, and a series of very fine enlarged photographs showing various features of the Gezer excavations. They can now be sold, and either series would form a valuable addition to any museum or collection intended to illustrate archæology, whether Biblical or other.

Under the title "Zoological Pictures in 200 B.C.," the *Illustrated London News* of May 13th reviews the Fund's latest publication. "Not every archæological description," it states, "is of such interest to the lay mind as *The Painted Tombs of Marissa*, just issued by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund," and it proceeds to draw attention to the "remarkable series of reproductions of zoological designs" from which "the book derives its chief fascination." It is well to point out that, although the scholar will find some hard nuts to crack in the inscriptions, and the archæologists, in turn, will find abundant material for the history of Palestine in the second century B.C., the book appeals equally to all lovers of art, and is virtually a unique publication of its kind. The reproductions in the *Illustrated London News* will give our readers some idea of what the coloured plates in the volume are like, and, since the Fund is its own publisher, we may venture to hope that subscribers will help to make the work known to a wider circle.

The volume contains numerous plates, several of which are coloured; these illustrate the tombs, their internal decoration, the painted friezes and the inscriptions. There are, further, 24 figures in the text, consisting of plans and sections, facsimiles of graffiti and inscriptions, &c. The letter-press is the work of the Rev. Dr. Peters, of New York, and Dr. Thiersch, of Munich, both well-known archæologists. The former contributes a general introductory account, whilst the detailed descriptions of the tombs are by both authors, as also are the complete edition of the Greek inscriptions and graffiti, and the discussion of the eras. Dr. Thiersch gives a valuable chapter upon the place of the tombs in the history of art and culture, whilst Dr. Peters concludes the work with an account of the miscellaneous objects which were found in the tombs.

In the April *Quarterly Statement*, p. 128, at the end of the first paragraph, there was a mistake in the statement explaining the difference between the pads of the hyæna and those of the wolf and jackal. The fore-pads of the wolf and jackal are larger than the hind-pads, but the hind-pads of the hyæna are larger than its fore-pads.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be

published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900, price by post, 7*d*. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s*.

The income of the Society from March 21st to June 21st, 1905, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £392 6*s*. 8*d*.; from sales of publications, &c., £188 8*s*. 10*d*.; from Lectures, £1 12*s*. 0*d*.; making in all, £582 7*s*. 6*d*. The expenditure during the same period was £646 13*s*. 7*d*. On June 22nd the balance in the bank was £402 18*s*. 5*d*.

Subscribers who have not yet paid will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer being just now a heavy drain on their funds.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1904 was published with the April number.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries. The following gentlemen have kindly consented to act:—J. Langfield Ward, Esq., M.A., for Bath, in place of General Warren Walker; the Rev. Putnam Cady, Amsterdam, N.Y.; S. H. Harrison, Esq., F.R.G.S., for Abergele.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch and measures $3'\ 6'' \times 2'\ 6''$. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1904, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set of the "Survey of Palestine," in four volumes, for £7 7*s*., but the price has been increased to the public to £9 9*s*. The price of

single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10*s*. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, (5) of the Hechel in Solomon's Temple, (6) of the Hechel in Herod's Temple, (7) of the Tabernacle, have been received at the office of the Fund. The seven photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale." From the Author, Professor M. Clermont-Ganneau. Tome VI, Livraisons 24, 25.—§ 44. *Fiches et Notules* ; Inscription grecque du Haurân ; La hauteur du mont Thabor ; Inscription phénicienne de Khân-el-Khaldé ; Cachet phénicien au nom de Phar'och ; Sur un passage de l'inscription phénicienne d'Echmuonazar. § 45. Inscription bilingue néo-punique et latine. § 46. Proscynêmes phéniciens et araméens d'Abydos ; Additions et corrections ; Indexes.

Dr. Lazarus Belléli, *Un Nouvel Apocryphe ; Un Monument Douteux ; Greek and Italian Dialects as spoken by the Jews in some places of the Balkan Peninsula* (*see* below, pp. 253–257).

M. René Dussaud, *La Troie Homérique et les récentes Découvertes en Crète* (extract from "Rev. de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris," February, 1905).

Mémoires de l'Académie Imp. d. Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, vol. vi, Nos. 5 and 6 ; ein Bruchstük Manichäischen Schrifttums, &c.

"Al-Mashrik : Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle."

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, March–April, 1905, a Greek journal devoted to Palestinian subjects.

"Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth ; Faculté Orientale ; prospectus et programme sommaires. Bulletin, 1904–1905."

See, further, "Foreign Publications," pp. 266 *sqq.*, below.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

Form of Bequest to the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund ; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses _____

_____

_____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America. Two suffice in Great Britain.*

TWELFTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

16 *February*—15 *May*, 1905.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

§ I.—Preliminary.

The work of clearing the Maccabean Castle, partly described in the last report, was continued and completed during the earlier weeks of the past quarter, after which the trenching of the Western Hill was resumed at the point where it was abandoned last October.

The section of the castle cleared during the quarter had been as completely looted as the eastern end had proved to be, and yielded no objects of special interest. Though the southern end of the trenches on the Western Hill was probably richer in important antiquities than any other part of the mound examined, the central portion of the same trenches, which has occupied my attention during the past six weeks, proved much less prolific. A second fragment of a Cuneiform tablet, and a broken example of the rare "marriage" scarab of Amenhotep III and Thyi, are among the most interesting discoveries.

§ II.—The Castle.

As a complete plan of the castle will be given in the final memoir, it is hardly necessary at present to illustrate the additional chambers unearthed during the past quarter, which do not differ essentially from those whose plan was presented with the previous report. There are three separate points of interest relating to the castle to which I would here refer:—

1. In a corner of one of the rooms of the castle was found a very large pile of cockle-shells, such as are strewn in great numbers over the sea-shore at Jaffa. These shells all have a perforation at the valve, and no doubt this perforation was made use of for threading, so as to make a necklace—one of the camp guards has

made such a necklace of some of this heap of shells, which is worn alternately by his baby and by a sheep he is fattening with a coming feast in prospect. It seems most probable that we have here a waste or deserted heap of builder's material, and that these shells were brought together with the purpose of pounding them for cement.[1] The very hard cement with which the chambers and troughs of the bath (described in the last *Quarterly Statement*) are lined is made with fragments of shells, taking the place of the pottery-dust which is used in modern cement in Palestine.

2. Further study of the *Pampras* inscription (*see ante* p. 100) has led me to the conclusion that it is impossible to choose between the two readings *κατοπάγη* and *κατοπάξη* at the beginning of line 2, or to make anything definite of the marks with which the same line concludes. But if we read, with Père Germer-Durand, *κατοπάζη*, and neglect the indefinite marks (as well as the *ι* of Père Germer-Durand's *πυρι*) as being meaningless scratches, which they easily may be, we obtain—

Πάμπρα(ς), Σιμῶνος κατοπάζῃ πῦρ βασίλειον,

—a very bad hexameter, but still one that gives better sense than the alternative readings suggested previously. The interpretation would be "(says) Pampras, may fire follow up the palace of Simon." The advantages of this reading are two: it gives us a satisfactory nominative to *κατοπάξῃ*, and gives a sufficient reason—metrical exigencies—for the omission of any verb associated with *Πάμπρας*.

3. Of all the sections of the recently-opened work the most interesting as well as, in some respects, the most perplexing, is the great drain that runs under the threshold of the castle gate. The part of it outside the gateway has already been shown in the plan facing p. 104 *ante*. It appears to have originally run eastwards, under the southern jamb of the public gateway, and was afterwards diverted and turned westward. The probable reason for this was the discovery that the entrance to the drain was concealed from observation by the jamb of the gate, and that it formed a convenient covered way whereby enemies could enter the city. The westward arm which was substituted for it was shallow, and (at least at its lower end) was probably open and under perpetual observation.

[1] [A very fine white cement is still made in India from shells.]

This radical connection of the drain with the jamb of the gate proves that it was contemporary with the castle and the associated buildings. The diversion of the lower end of the drain must have taken place almost immediately after the buildings had been completed and inhabited, as we have shown reason to believe that the castle itself had a very short existence. These results had already been obtained when the last report was written. It was an obvious duty to trace the drain and to find, if possible, its origin; this work was accordingly entrusted to one of the gangs. Reserving fuller details for the present, I may only mention that it is remarkable for a sudden and unaccountable bend 60 feet from the threshold of the gate, and that at a distance of 13 feet from this spot the channel is divided by a block of stone set in the middle. The latter can scarcely have served as a filter, and, in fact, the design is problematical. May it be merely an ingenious and cruel trap for unwary besiegers of the city?

§ III.—The Second Cuneiform Tablet.[1]

This was found not far from the neighbourhood which yielded the tablet found last year, and in the same stratum; so that probably it is of much the same date, and is another monument of the Assyrian garrison to which the first tablet gave us our first definite introduction. Like the first, it is a fragment only, and is evidently a document of similar character; unlike the first, which was of black colour, it is of a light coffee-brown hue. It measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 2 inches broad, and $\frac{2}{3}$ inch thick.

There are in all eight perfect lines of writing, and the ends of two others. The obverse has two lines, after which is a band of three impressions of the seal shown on p. 206, and then the two imperfect lines, after which the tablet breaks off. Turning it over, we find on the reverse the five last lines surviving: the first four —which seem to be names of witnesses—are separated by a blank space from the fifth, which is the commencement of matter completed in two lines on the edge. Whether a certain curious clay fragment, which was found in the same stratum, is the remains of a model of Assyrian origin, *e.g.*, a man-headed bull, is doubtful. A cast of this puzzling object also has been forwarded to London.

[1] *See* pp. 174, 206 *sqq.*, 272.

§ IV.—The Marriage Scarab.

When complete the inscribed base of this interesting object must have been about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches broad. It is, however, a mere fragment, and the surviving portion is represented by shading in Fig. 1. It is of paste, covered with a rich olive green enamel on the back: the base is yellow, but the letters have been filled in with green. The colouring matter has, however, come out of most of the characters. Under the legs of the beetle

Fig. 1.—The Marriage Scarab.

on the surviving side is the throne-name of the king, Nb-M^{3}t–R^{c}. The remains of the inscription differ in one respect only from the corresponding part of Mr. Llewellyn Griffith's transcript, which is prepared from specimens in Mr. Ward's collection (Ward, *The Sacred Beetle*, pp. 64–5): namely, that the present example reads [*Nh*^{3}]*rin*^{3} instead of *Nh*^{3}*rini* in the last word. The complete transcript and translation (according to Dr. Griffith) is as follows: the division into lines follows the Gezer fragment:—

1. [ʿnḫ Ḥr kꜣ, nḫt, ḥʿm mꜣʿt
2. nbtỉ, smn, sgrḥ tꜣwỉ
3. Ḥr nb, ʿꜣ ḫpš, ḥq Stỉw
4. stn bỉtỉ] (Nb-Mꜣʿt-Rʿ) sꜣ Rʿ [(ʾImn ḥtp ḫq wꜣst) dỉ ʿnḫ-
   Ḥwt stn,
5. wrt (I) ỉ ʿnḫtỉ. Rn n [tfs Ḫwỉꜣ,]
6. rn n mwts Tw[ỉꜣ. Ḥwt pw]
7. nt stn nḫt; tꜣ[šf, rsỉ]
8. r Kꜣrꜣỉ, [mḫtỉ r Nhꜣ-]
9. rỉnꜣ

1. Lives the Horus, the strong bull, resplendent in strength
2. the double ruler, establishing laws, pacifying the two lands
3. the golden Horus, great of valour, smiting the Asiatics
4. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenhotep III, son of the
   sun, Amenhotep ruler of Thebes, giving life. The royal wife,
5. the great one, Thyi living. The name of her father Yawya,
6. the name of her mother Thawya. She is the wife
7. of the mighty king; his boundary, the southern
8. to Kari, the northern to Meso-
9. potamia.

According to Mr. Ward's book, about 20 specimens of this scarab have been found in Egypt; I believe that the present is the first discovered outside the Egyptian borders.

§ V.—Other Egyptian Objects.

Of the other objects of Egyptian provenance the most interesting is a small bronze statuette, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, representing a man, walking. He wears a shirt that reaches almost to the ankles. The right hand was stretched out, but has been broken off. The left hand hangs by the side and holds some indistinguishable object. The figure has been gilt; the gold covering remains to a little above the waist. Pearls are set in the eye-sockets. On the head is a cylindrical hollow crown. As is usual with such figures, tenons are provided under the heels to fit into mortices in the stand on which it was set. This figure was found in débris contemporary with the latter part of the eighteenth dynasty.

Another figure, which is of more summary execution, represents a sitting man. The head is lost. The arms are outstretched, and each hand bears a rather indefinite object—that in the right, flat and shaped like a knife; that in the left, globular. There are tenons provided for mortices in the seat and foot-rest.

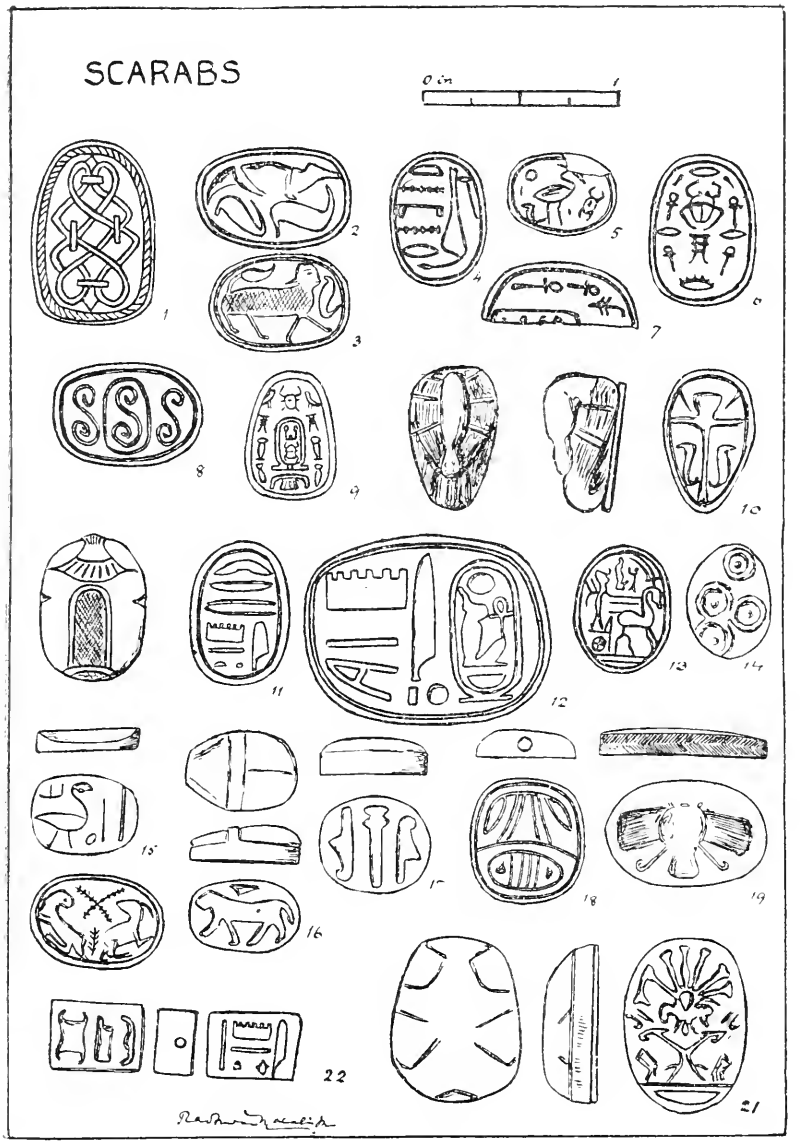
Several "Horus eyes" and other amulets, principally in paste, green enamelled, have come to light. A seated god (? Osiris) figure, holding symbols of authority, was also found. Only the central portion of the body remains. The figure is placed on a throne with open-work sides. The whole is of paste, with green enamel, except the tracery in the sides of the seat, which is brown.

The scarabs, as usual, I present in tabular form. They will be found on Plate I.

No.	Fig. on Pl. I.	Stratum.*	Material.	Device.
1	1	II	Steatite (mounted in a bronze ring).	Symmetrical ornament.
2	2	II	Steatite	A crocodile and two uræi. These two scarabs were found in a granary.
3	3	III	Steatite	A sphinx walking and uræus.
4	4	III	Steatite	Uræus and symmetrical hieroglyphs.
5	—	III	Crystal	No device.
6	5	III	Steatite	*Ḥpr* R^{c} with *bennu* bird and uræus.
7	6	Between III and IV.	Steatite	*Ḥpr dd* surrounded by *ʿnḫ* and *r*.
8	7	Between III and IV.	Steatite	Ring (broken away) surrounded by *sḏu ʿnḫ*. The head of the scarab is coloured red, the shards and base blue.
9	8	V	Steatite	Three S curves, one in an oval.
10	9	V	Steatite, gold mounted.	Ring of Usertsen I, surrounded by various symbols.
11	10	VI	Paste, red enamelled.	*ʿnḫ* and two uræi. A bird takes the place of the beetle on the back of the scarab.
12	11	VI	Steatite	. . . *nbt ʿImn*. The oval on the back coloured red and outlined in olive green.
13	12	VI	Paste, green enamelled.	Ring of Amenhotep III with *mr* ʿImn-R^{c}.
14	13	VI	Steatite	A charioteer; above a worshipper and a deity.

* *Note.*—All are from the Western Hill, where there are eight strata.

Palestine Exploration Fund. *Pl. i.*



No.	Fig. on Pl. I.	Stratum.*	Material.	Device.
15	14	VI	Paste, green enamelled.	Four circles.
16	—	Between VI and VII.	Amethyst	No device.
17	15	Between VI and VII.	Paste, yellow enamelled.	S^{3} R^{c} nn.
18	16	Between VI and VII.	Paste, green enamelled.	Walking animal.
19	17	VII	Paste, green enamelled.	Scaraboid. *Dd* between two *m*^{3}*ᶜt*.
20	18	VII	Ivory.	Conventional pattern, type of 22nd dynasty.
21	19	VIII	Blue paste	Scaraboid with winged disc.
22	20	From waste earth.	Steatite	Peculiar ornamental device.
23	21	From waste earth.	Steatite	Two animals.
24	22	From waste earth.	Paste, green enamelled.	Cubical bead with the name of Amenhotep and nb-st-ḫpr (?).

* *Note.*—All are from the Western Hill, where there are eight strata.

§ VI.—Seals.

The past quarter's work has been remarkable for the number and variety of seals and seal impressions unearthed. Some of these are of very interesting types, and others raise important questions.

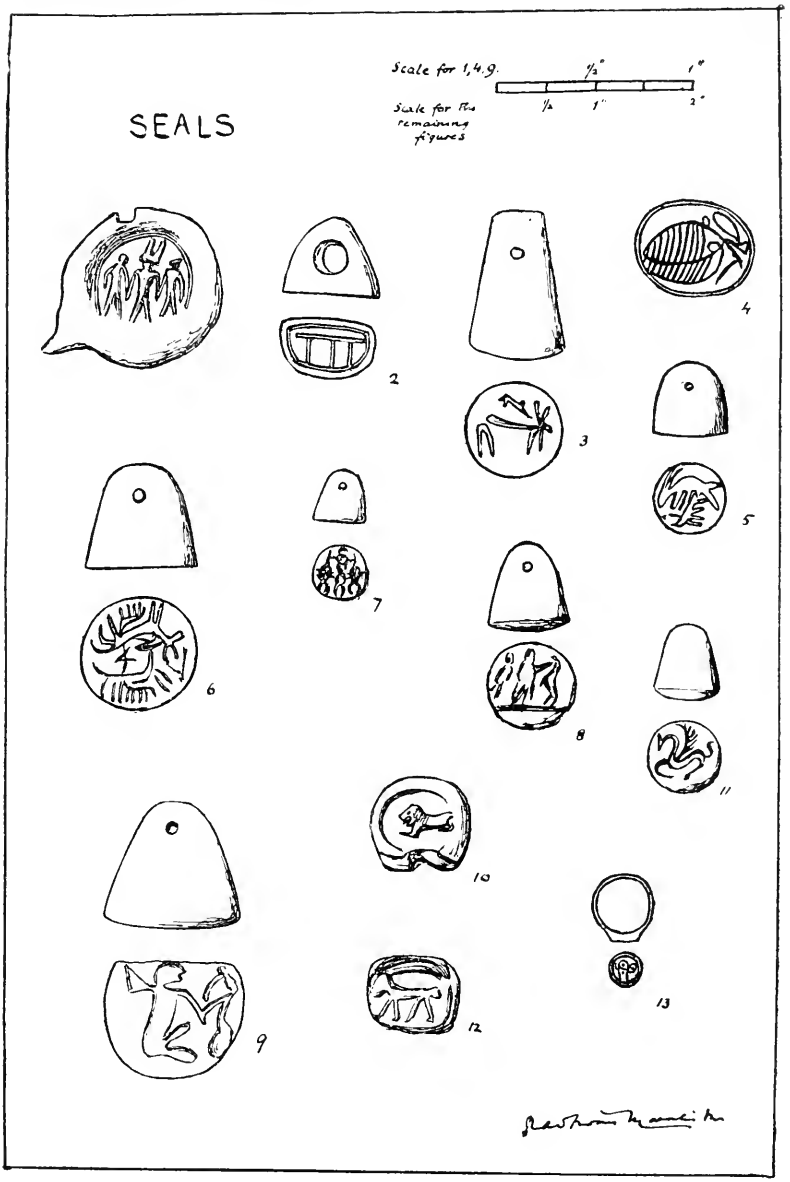
The following is a catalogue of the seals illustrated on Plate II:—

1. (Stratum II.) A sealing on black clay of a stamp bearing three figures, that in the central being apparently Chnum.

2. (Stratum V.) A seal of soft limestone with a mark, possibly an Old-Hebrew ח.

3. (Do.) Rude seal of soft limestone with a figure of a stag. The frequency upon seals of stags and other animals of the deer kind has already been noticed in these reports; and it is specially remarkable how many such have been found in this section of the excavations, *i.e.*, about the middle of the eastern hole. As a rule, they are found in a later stratum (the seventh) than the present example. The frequency of these seals in this particular part of the mound suggests that it was the badge of a local family who occupied this region of the city. Whether we may search for survivals

Palestine Exploration Fund. *Pl. II.*



of totemism upon these seals is a question that we cannot yet, for want of material, discuss: it is not at all improbable.[1]

4. (Stratum VI.) Sealing in black clay apparently resembling a sprig of a plant.

5. (Stratum VII.) This is another of the "deer" seals. It appears to represent a female deer suckling its young. Material, basalt. A set of seals illustrated in the July *Quarterly Statement* for last year ought to be compared.

6. (Do.) Another "deer" seal. Here there are four deer, two full-grown and two young ones. In material and technique this much resembles the last.

7. (Do.) A small ivory seal bearing the peculiar device of an earwig between two scorpions.

8. (Do.) A glass Assyrian seal of common type, much disintegrated.

9. (From near the Maccabean Castle.) An Egyptian seal, with a seated figure holding something in its hand.

10. (Stratum VIII.) A seal impression in pottery, bearing a well-drawn lion.

11. (Do.) Conical seal bearing a winged horse—possibly a local representation of Pegasus.

12. (Picked up on surface.) A seal probably of the "deer" family, representing an animal with extravagantly long horns.

13. (From outside the city wall, on the south side.) A minute signet ring, too small for any but a child's finger, bearing a very elementary representation of the Virgin and Child. As children do not as a rule require signets, this was probably an amulet.

§ VII.—Miscellanous Objects.

The following various objects call for notice:—

1. From a chamber near the castle, a disc of porous limestone, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with the letters ΙΦΝΑ scratched upon it.

2. From the topmost (eighth) stratum, a small weight of the common dome-shape, weighing 3·84 grammes, bearing the mark LL. This is about $\frac{1}{3}$ the weight inscribed ⚒I. Other weights found during the quarter are: two of hæmatite from the sixth stratum,

[1] It is, perhaps, merely a coincidence that a person named Dorcas (gazelle) lived in the city in post-exilic times, as we learn from the Altar of Eunelos. She *may* have been a member of the "stag" family.

91·43 and 91·89 grammes respectively (eight times 𐅄𐅅); one of torpedo-shape, from the third stratum, 91·31 grammes; another from the sixth, 34·78 (three times 𐅄𐅅); and another 180·11 (sixteen times).[1] None of these weights bore any inscription.

3. From the same stratum, a simple but elegant bronze lamp.

4. Also from the same stratum, a fragment of a handsome lekythos of brown ware, with ornamentation in glossy black and red (Fig. 2).

FIG. 2.—Lekythos.

5. Head of a figure wearing a peculiar cap with a peak that falls over the back. This is interesting, as contemporary representations of Palestinian costume are rare. It was found in the seventh stratum.

6. Fragment of a handsome lentoid flask with embossed ornamentation upon it.

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 209, where the characters 𐅄𐅅 were erroneously inverted (*cp.* p. 359).

7. Finally, a stone box, found outside the north-east corner tower of the city wall. It is made of soft limestone, and is $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, $3\frac{1}{8}$ high, and now $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad. The depression of the box below the rim is $\frac{5}{8}$ inch. The perfect side is slightly concave. The box displays quaint geometrical and zoomorphic ornament scratched upon it; on the top, surface-frets and spirals; on one side (Fig. 3) two animals, perhaps a hyæna or lion (?) eating (?) a donkey (?); on the second side there was apparently something similar, the "donkey" being the only member of the group that

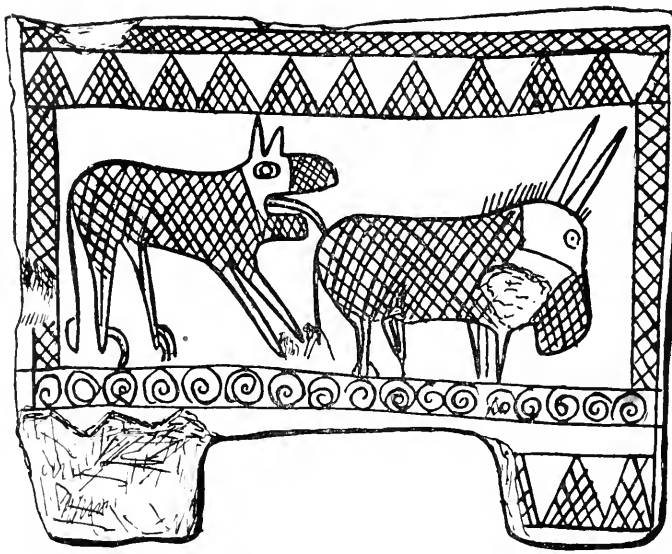


Fig. 3.—Animal Representation upon one side of a Stone Box.

has survived. On the third side is a man in a short-sleeved tunic, driving an animal whose tufted tail alone is left, and there is just an indication of the man's beard. This box has been used for fire (perhaps for burning incense), and marks of it remain in the smoke-blackened and cracked condition of the fragment.

§ VIII.—Buildings.

Two buildings uncovered during the past quarter call for special notice. The first is the early palace site, as it appeared to be, of which mention was made in a previous report. The other is a

curious structure, not easy to explain, from the stratum which yielded Amenhotep's scarab.

The result of examination of the supposed palace did not at all come up to expectations. It will be remembered that a section had been exposed in a 40-foot trench, a leading feature of which was a long rectangular hall with a row of column-bases running down the centre. As it was manifestly a building of importance, it was decided to cut the next trench to the east, into which the hall in question seemed to run, before proceeding with the trench in which the building itself was found. It was disappointing to find that the building, whatever it may have been, was completely destroyed, and not a stone was left to show how it had run.

Neither were any objects of interest or special value discovered round about the walls which might enable us to determine the purpose for which the building was erected. The western part still awaits excavation, and it is possible that something which will explain its object may still lie hidden there.

So far as the building has been exposed, the most important member is a pillared hall, which is at present 39 feet long and 24 feet broad. There are two pillar bases, 3 feet 6 inches in diameter. I had these overturned, after taking plans and photographs, in order to search for foundation deposits, but found nothing. The symmetry of the structure and the absence of other pillars shows that it can never have been much longer. The walls are almost 4 feet thick, a thickness quite double that of the normal house walls.

The pillar bases found here and elsewhere (rows of similar but much smaller stones are very common in the house-rooms) were probably meant to support wooden posts on which the beams of the roof rested. Some such central beam would evidently be necessary when the space to be ceiled was so wide as the pillared hall here described—single beams both long and strong enough to span the area would be difficult to procure. That the posts were of wood is made probable by the almost complete absence of stone columns, column drums and capitals in the débris.[1]

And here we have, I think, a key to a problem which has troubled both Biblical critics and architectural experts from Sir Christopher Wren downwards, namely, the exact manner of the death of Samson. If we read the description at the end of

[1] [*Cf.* the wooden columns of the Cretan palaces.]

Judges xvi carefully, it will appear, first, that there is no authority in the narrative for the conceptions of the artists of some well-known pictures, wherein Samson is represented as *breaking* two massive columns of stone. What he must have done, if we study the narrative in the light of these more or less contemporary monuments (the palace now being described is more than a thousand years older than Samson, but the construction of the dwellings of his period did not essentially differ), was to push the [wooden] posts that supported the roof so that they slid from their stone bases. This would not be an impossible feat for a man of superhuman strength; and, obviously, as soon as he had succeeded in pushing the posts slightly out of the perpendicular, the ruin would be completed automatically.

A little further study enables us to form an idea of the architectural character of the Temple of Dagon. It must have consisted essentially of three members—the cella itself; a very deep distyle portico; and a forecourt, open to the sky. What seems to have happened was this: the blind prisoner was conducted to the forecourt, whence he could be seen by the Philistine grandees who sat in the shade of the portico (*cf.* verse 30, "the house fell *upon* the lords") as well as by the large crowd of commoners assembled on the roof. By tricks of strength and buffoonery he was compelled to give them amusement, after which he was allowed to rest awhile, probably in order that he might have strength to continue the sport. He was set to rest between the pillars, which was the nearest place where he could be shaded from the sun's heat while resting. Taking the opportunity, he put forth his full strength, and before the lords of the Philistines realised what he was doing he was able slightly to displace the posts holding up the portico but sufficiently to cause them to fall under the weight of the roof and the crowds upon it.[1]

And this leads me to speak of the second of the two buildings I have mentioned above, which, on a small scale and with some trifling variations of detail, is just such a structure as in the last paragraph I have pictured the Temple of Dagon to be.

[1] [The words expressing Samson's actions are not quite clear: (Judg. xvi, 29) he grasps or entwines himself (*lāphath*) about the two pillars, and then braces himself against them (*sāmak*), and, finally (*v.* 30), he appears to have thrust them apart. The last action (*nāṭah*) is otherwise explained to mean he bowed or bent forward, or lifted, or perhaps even he pulled them.—Ed.]

A plan of this building, so far as it has been excavated, is forwarded (Fig. 4). It is bounded on the south by two walls (*aa bb*), not in line, with a gap—apparently a passage way—between them. The western section of this wall (*aa*) is of a different style of masonry

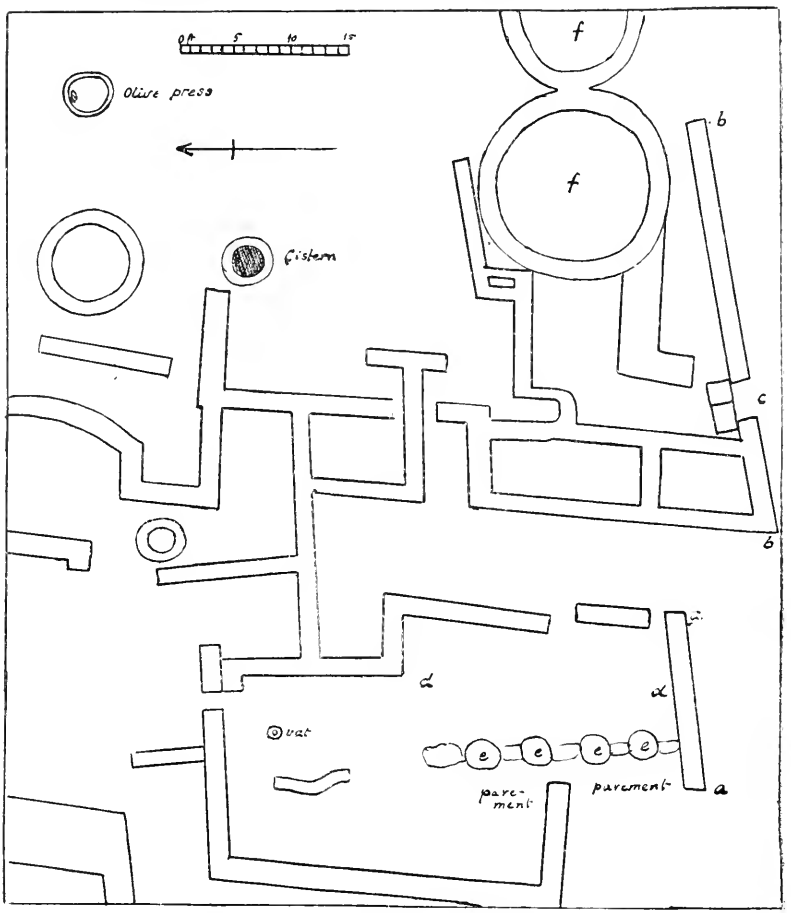


FIG. 4.—Plan of Walls—perhaps a Temple—Fifth Stratum (about 1400 B.C.).

from anything else I have seen on the *tell*; it consists of large, long stones with rounded ends, piled up into a wall without any very definite attempt at coursing. Indeed, one might almost say that it consisted of a series of pillar stones, that in some earthquake or

similar catastrophe had fallen on top of one another.[1] To the north the complex is less definitely marked off from the surrounding buildings. There is a doorway (*c*) in the south wall with a threshold of two slabs inside it.

To the north of the western section of the wall is a building consisting of a forecourt, not quite rectangular in shape; and a paved chamber, of which only a small section has so far been exposed. The pavement is laid to a well-marked slope upwards, but the greater part of it has been destroyed. The chamber is separated from the forecourt by a row of four large column bases (*e e e e*), about 2 feet in diameter.

The evidence that this structure has a religious purpose is twofold. In the first place, certain religious emblems and objects were found in the forecourt; they included a beautiful "Horus eye" amulet, and a very peculiar bronze statuette of a female divinity, unlike any other that I have seen from Palestine. It seems Egyptian in execution, but displays Semitic influence in the conception. The figure wears a lozenge-shaped head-dress, but is otherwise undraped, and displays characteristics identifying her with a goddess of fertility. A cast of this object will be sent to the office of the Fund.

Secondly, the two circular structures to the east of the forecourt (*f f*) were found to be completely full of fragments of sheep and goat bones. These were all broken into fragments, but none displayed any marks either of burning or of cooking. These pits might have been receptacles into which slaughtered victims were thrown after sacrifice.

To the south of this structure, and on the same level, was found a peculiar pavement of beaten lime, intersected by brick walls. A large rectangular pottery trough was sunk in the floor. Nothing was found to explain the purpose of this building. Underneath the pavement was a solid mass of fragments of the bones of small cattle similar to those found in the circular structures.

(While this report was being written the stratum underneath the building above described was reached by the excavators, and foundation-sacrifices were found within it. So far, two infants

[1] This is meant merely to give an idea of the appearance of the masonry of the wall, and is not intended as a suggestion regarding its origin. There is no doubt that it was built with intention exactly as we see it.

buried in jars in the corners of rooms have been found, and one adult, lying exactly in the middle of another chamber. The latter had apparently (to judge from the position of the arms) been bound, and the left hand was cut off. I hope to be in a position to give further particulars about this discovery in the next report, which will conclude the series presented under the present firman.)

THE IMMOVABLE EAST.

By Philip G. Baldensperger, Esq.

(*Continued from p.* 126.)

When the villagers tell stories among themselves about some wonderful adventure of a king's son, who found a treasure—and so on, and so on—they always begin with the formula: "There was once, and there was once, in the course of the centuries"; "there was a king," &c.;[1] and having told the story, the speaker will say, "The bird flew away—good evening to you all."[2] They may also ask riddles or recount fables about the fox. These are the most popular, and the following will show what they think about the craftiest of all animals:—

The Tiger and the Fox.—Abu Sliman (the nickname of the fox), walking about the fields, met Abu Tansar (from *nisr*), the eagle, and asked him how the world looked from the sky. The eagle said, "Why, it is so small that it can hardly be seen." But the fox would not believe this, and the eagle invited him to suffer himself to be carried aloft, so that he could see it for himself. So the fox rode on the back of the eagle, and up they went, till the earth was as small as a ball. On being questioned, the fox replied that it was like a ball. On they went, still higher and higher, till the fox said it was as small as the eye of a needle. Still the eagle ascended, and at last the fox said, "I don't see anything at all." "Well," said

[1] *Kân a-ma-kân, fi sa'ât il-akrân, Kân fi kona malek*, &c.
(كان امكان في سعات الاقران ـ كان في كونا ملك)

[2] (طار الطير ومسيكم بالخير)

the eagle, "what distance do you suppose it to be?" And the fox, trembling, said he did not know. But the eagle continued, "You had better measure the distance;" and so saying, he turned himself upside down and the fox tumbled into space, and with greater speed than he saw it disappear, the earth was reappearing and becoming larger and larger, till finally he fell on the fur coat of a fellah who was ploughing in the field, and had deposited his garment near by. By the time the ploughman had recovered from his astonishment the fox had run away with the fur on his back! Now, Abu Tanmar (from *nimr*), the tiger or leopard, was out for a walk, and seeing Abu Sliman in his new costume, asked him where he got it. The fox answered that he had become a tailor and made furs for sale. The tiger at once ordered one. "Hold still," said the fox, "I must have lamb-skins, two lambs for the back part, two for the front, and two for the sleeves." "All right," said the tiger, "give me your address and I'll send you six lambs, and as I cannot skin them I'll leave it to you, and you can eat the meat for the trouble." They stroked paws over the bargain (بَيْعَة, *bî'at*), and the fox gave his address. Next day the tiger brought the six lambs. Abu Sliman, with his wife and four children, feasted on the lambs, and thought no more about the promised fur. A fortnight afterwards Abu Tanmar met Abu Sliman, and after the usual salutations and remarks about the weather, the tiger asked how the fur was going on. "Well," said the fox, "the six lambs were just enough for the body, and there is nothing left for the sleeves." "Well," said the tiger, "I'll bring two more for the sleeves." Having done so, the family feasted again on lamb. A week passed by, and Abu Tanmar again inquired for his fur. "Well, it is beautiful, and only wants the collar," was the reply; so again another lamb for the collar was furnished. Having met him again, the tiger said, "Look here, I'm afraid you are telling me stories; give the fur at once, or I'll kill you"; and so saying he struck at the fox, but only got the tail. Then Abu Sliman pulled hard and left his tail in the tiger's paw and ran for his life, and just reached his hole in time. Abu Tanmar was very angry, but could not enter into the small hole; so he took a hornets' nest and stuck it above the entrance. Whenever the fox slowly approached and heard the humming of the hornets, he thought it was the growling of the tiger. Several days thus passed in anguish, and the fox, driven by hunger, began to eat his own

children, till they were all gone. But still the growling continued. He now proposed to his wife to wrestle (*baṭah*), the victor to eat the conquered. Accordingly they wrestled, and Mr. Fox was thrown down, but he said that it was not fair to be counted as vanquished for a single combat; so they tried again, and he was thrown again. "Now, look here," he said, "every good thing is based on three; let us therefore try again"; and this time he obtained the victory, and strangled and ate her. Being left alone in the world, and boxed up in his cave, he said to himself, "To die of hunger in here, or to die under the paws of the tiger, is about the same; better to try and leap out and escape if possible." So at once he leapt out, to find nothing but hornets flying to and from their nest. Sorry as he now felt for his lost wife and family, his main thought was that it was no use to grieve about them, but rather to think about his own salvation. The tiger would recognise him by his mutilated tail, so he must get out of this dilemma. Thereupon he sent an invitation to all the foxes of the neighbourhood to come and eat grapes in a beautiful vineyard. Of course, the foxes all arrived, and Abu Sliman took them in and bound every one by the tail to a vine, for he said he was afraid they might quarrel and call the attention of the sons of Adam to them. When all were greedily eating in silence, Abu Sliman slipped to a small hill and called out at the top of his voice:—"Gather, O owner of the vineyard, gather; your vineyard is full of wild beasts."[1] All the foxes pulled till they left their tails behind them, and Abu Sliman had no longer any fear for the future. The critical time at length arrived, and Abu Tanmar and Abu Sliman met. "Aha!" quoth the tiger, "there you are, lying tailor; this time you shall not escape your punishment." "What," said the fox, "I a tailor! I don't understand you; please explain the error." The tiger told his story, and showed how he recognised him by the missing tail. But Abu Sliman familiarly took him by the arm and said, "Come along, I'll show you tailless foxes by the dozen." Having made good his word, the outwitted tiger went his way, and Abu Sliman is now thinking what lies he can invent next.

We have already referred to the different salutations used by the Madâny; the fellaḥîn use other phrases, with the exception of

[1] *Ḥûsh yá Ṣáḥeb el-Karm ḥûsh, Karmak malâne wuḥûsh*

(حوش يا صاحب الكرم حوش كرمك ملان وحوش)

Salam 'aleikum, to which they add *el-'Awâf*, which means something like *no attack*, for it is to be remembered that the fellaḥ considers his whole life to be in a kind of war, with only a longer or shorter period of armistice in between whiles. When they meet, after a long absence, one will say, *ḥai Allah ya flân* (حي الله يا فلان), "God is alive, so-and-so," and will receive the answer, *teḥyaâ wal-dûm* (تحيا وتدوم), "May you live and prosper." The worker is greeted, *Ṣaḥ Badano* (صح بدنهُ), "Strengthened be his (your) body," and replies *Wabadano* (وبدنهُ), "And his body." A person riding on a donkey may not say *Salam aleikum* except he alight, but a horseman can say it. They put their hands in each other's when they greet, but do not shake hands; they kiss one another on the shoulder, right and left, and one kiss on the cheek only when intimate. Parting wishes run, خاطرك, (*ḥaṭrak*), and the answers are *ma' salame(t)* (مع سلامة), "Your good-will," and "With peace"; and after the journey they greet one another with "Thanks to God for the return in peace" (الحمد لالله بالسلامة). The fellaḥ is armed on his travels—he is on "danger" (خطر, *ḥaṭar*), not on a journey; and as soon as he is out of the precincts of his own village he is in enemy's land. They trust nobody, and it is astonishing how sharp they are to find out the intentions of those they meet, even when they are a good way off. In their acuteness they are not inferior to the North-American Indian. The fellaḥîn of the south and south-west of Jerusalem are of a more hospitable nature than those to the north of the town, where, curious to state, a stranger may have to go the round of the streets and beg for a loaf of bread from the women, or else he will receive nothing. In the south, on the other hand, any stranger will be taken into the guests' room and provided with the necessary food and lodging. Hundreds of years have passed since that well-known event, the inhospitality of the men of Gibeah, when the Levite came from Bethlehem in Judah, and "there was no man that took them into his house to lodge" (Judges xix, 15), and yet that same inhospitality still survives in the ancient seat of Benjamin and Ephraim unto this day in spite of its Christian or Moslem inhabitants. For the same reason of self-preservation the fellaḥ starting out does not say where he is bound for. Anybody meeting him on the way asks

"Where are you going—by the leveller (God)?" and the reply is "In God's ways."[1] When they return from their journey they are full of all kinds of adventures which they have had. Even if there is really nothing of any consequence, they can invent stories, and in this they are experts. Has he outwitted a hyæna? "O men! Do you remember the little 'Ain (spring) coming down from Fâghûr? When I came to Wâd-el-Biâr, the old hyæna, who made my father to tremble, was lying behind a wall, and when I was going to step on him, he jumped aside with a hideous laugh, and would have stolen my spirit but for my presence of mind. I drew my pistol and shot in his direction, yet he attacked me a second time in the thicket, a mile lower down; but this time I was ready, and called out to him before he howled at me, and full of shame he fled." Everyone knows stories about the same hyæna, how it has eaten women, and carried away donkeys, &c. How he has been a person, but for some misdeed is accursed, and is always trying to play tricks upon mankind; and they believe it so firmly that many a man feels his courage and sense gradually depart in its presence, for it is a great sorcerer. One of my servants was being enticed away by a hyæna one day. He was running after the hyæna, saying, "Yes, father, I'm coming"; but for the intervention of another, more stout-hearted, he would have followed the hyæna to his cave, at least so it was affirmed.

Serpent stories are most thrilling accounts. Everyone has met an enormous serpent, which waylays men, and cuts persons in two. The story-teller has narrowly escaped an attack of a most dangerous serpent, at least as thick as the thigh of a man. The serpent was coiled, and, being Friday, he remembered the words, "Either kill or be killed," which never fail on Fridays. He took out his broad sword, which was sharp enough to divide a grain of wheat when on a heap, and struck several times, but the feathers (!) were about a span long on its back. Here he stops to hear the effect on the assembly; everyone shakes the head, and says, "This is a thousand-year-old serpent" (عالغة, *muâlafe*[*t*]), and no sword, pistol, or musket can penetrate its skin. He was lucky enough, though, to get at its throat, and the body was more than would fill a large basket. Then the bystanders put their heads together in twos and threes, and tell the most marvellous stories. One has seen

[1] *Fain ya mossahel* (فين يا مسهل)? *'alá bâb Allah* (على باب الله).

a poisonous serpent—they are all poisonous in their stories—pass a field, and the grass withered at its passing. Another knows a *'Arbûl*, three metres long, but harmless, black as the night, hot as fire, swift as lightning, laying in wait; . . . . his hair stands on end (in point of fact they can never make it lie down, being so short!) whenever he passes there; that *ḥanîsh* (حنيش) is at least a hundred years old; his grandfather, when a boy, knew him there, and he cuts people in two! There is a legend known in all the mountains of Judea about a monster serpent which had passed its thousandth year (at that age serpents go to the sea and become whales), and had been the terror of all the Beni-Hassan and the 'Arkûb, eating sheep, goats, and even children, but hiding so well that it could not be discovered. One day, however, the time had arrived for its transformation, and it went down the Wâd Jesmain, followed by all the armed villagers of the district. But the balls slid off as if they were shot at rocks, and those who looked down from the heights saw the shining body gliding away like a river, on which the rays of the sun were reflected. As the monster approached the sea, more warriors gathered together, but all in vain, and near Ascalon it plunged into the sea, and was heard of no more. The story is perfectly true; was not the father of the narrator's great-grandfather among the pursuers?[1]

As a rule, the people are afraid of serpents, and know very little about them save that they are dangerous, and the Dervishes exhibit the most innocent reptiles, and make them believe that they are only tamed by them and through the grace of the Erfa'i. It is hardly necessary to refute the above fables. Palestine, from north to south and east to west, according to Canon Tristram's researches, has thirty-three species of serpents, of which only six are poisonous. I may add that during ten years of research in Judea and Philistia I captured hundreds of innocent kinds, and only twice I caught the deadly Daboia Xanthina (Daboja Viper, *Za'ra*[*t*]), a young one, about half a foot in length, on the mountain of Urtas, and a big one, 3½ feet in length, at Jaffa. This one, when pursued, inflated the skin of its neck like the cobra. Daboias have often been brought to me by a black Dervish who was not afraid of them at all, although he made me tremble when he put his hand in the *jirab* and coolly drew it out,

[1] One is reminded of the old legend of Ascalon, according to which the goddess plunged into the sacred pool and was changed into a fish.

without being bitten. But he, in his turn, was equally frightened to see me handle the (quite harmless) Eryx jaculus—a beautiful sand-snake called *barjîl* (برجيل), and reputed to be poisonous at the head and tail. These beautiful creatures have all the colours of granite, and shine like polished stone, and never attempt to bite.

But the people see no distinction between one kind of serpent and another, and the proverb, "The serpent and (take) the stick," shows sufficiently that all serpents are put into the same class of dangerous beasts; even the *Pseudopus apoda*, a lizard without legs (ابو القرع, *Abu l-ḳare'*), is supposed to be most deadly by some. There are some places where they believe them to be poisonous once a year only, but as this unique period cannot be recognised by the appearance of the reptile, it is much better to kill every serpent out of hand! They give names to different kinds of serpents, it is true, designing them by their colour, place of abode, motion, &c.; but beyond that they do not go.

THE NEW CUNEIFORM TABLET FROM GEZER.[1]

By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A., *Lecturer in Assyriology, Queens' College, Cambridge, and King's College, London.*

The Palestine Exploration Fund is to be congratulated most heartily on this remarkable confirmation of its former more doubtful find. While that seemed likely enough to have been brought from Assyria to Gezer, this separate discovery must assure

Cuneiform Tablet from Gezer. (Obverse.)

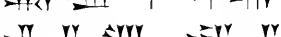
all but the obstinately sceptical that both tablets are genuine products of the ancient dwellers at Gezer. The problems still remain unsolved as to the full significance of Assyrian notaries and officials there in Assurbanipal's reign, and the extent of this Assyrian influence in Judah.

The tablet is the upper part, probably less than half, of a deed of sale of a field, following, as far as preserved, the regular formula of an Assyrian deed of sale. The text reads:—

[1] *See* p. 185.

Obverse—

1

2 

[Three seal impressions.]

3

4

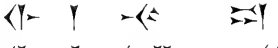
Reverse—

1

2

3

4

5 

Lower Edge—

1

2

This may be transliterated as follows :—

Obverse—

1. TAK-ŠID (= kunuk) D.P. Na-tan-Ia-u
2. bêl A-ŠÁ (= eḳli) SE (= tadani)-a-ni.

[Three seal impressions.]

3. . . . . BAR A-ŠÁ (= eḳli) SUḪ (= kimmat) D.P. Si-ni-i
4. . . . . SUḪ (= kimmat) D.P. Si-ni-i

. . . . . .

Reverse—

1. pân D.P. . . . . .
2. pân D.P. Bu-sik- . . . is
3. pân D.P. Zêr-DU (= ukîn)
4. pân D.P. Nêrgal-šar-uṣur
5. arḫi Šabaṭi ûmi IV (Kan)

Lower Edge—

1. lim-mu D.P. Aḫi-ilai.
2. amêlu ša-kin Gar-ga-meš.

TRANSLATION.

Obverse—

1. The seal of Natan-Iau
2. the owner of the field made over

3. (area) of field next Sinî
4. . . . . next Sinî

. . . . . .

Reverse—

1. in the presence of . . . . .
2. in the presence of Bu-sik- . . . . is
3. in the presence of Zêr-ukîn
4. in the presence of Nêrgal-šar-uṣur
5. in the month Shebat, fourth day.

1. Eponymy of Aḫi-ilai
2. *šaknu* of Carchemish.

The words printed in capitals are the names of the signs used to form ideograms, which are given in small type in the brackets as read in Assyrian. Thus, in *Obv.* l. 2, *SE* is the name of the sixth sign which is the ideogram for the verb *nadânu* and all its derivatives. The following *a-ni* show that we are to take that part of the verb, or its derivative, which ends in *ani*. On some contracts we have the word spelt out syllabically *ta-da-a-ni*.

D.P. is often used to denote the vertical wedge which indicates a personal name. Some scholars write (h) for *homo*, which is neither Assyrian nor English ; some write (*m*) for *man*. But in English it is quite sufficiently indicated by the capital letter with which we begin a proper name.

The name Natan-Iau is, of course, the same as Nethaniah. The form in which the name Yahweh appears in the Assyrian historical inscriptions in such names as Hezekiah is Ia-u, as here.

In line 3, deeds of sale usually begin with a statement of the amount of land, measured in homers and subdivisions of the homer. One of these subdivisions is indicated by the sign *BAR*, which was certainly written here. What the relation was between the homer and its subdivisions is not known. It seems likely that the area here was "one homer and *BAR* part." The next sign, called *SUḪ*, is the ideogram for "next to." It is usually read *kimmatu*, on the authority of the syllabaries, but the only variant syllabic

spelling I know in these contracts is *um-mi*, "alongside." This sign always introduces the name of the neighbour. It is usual in deeds of sale to give the names of the four neighbours whose fields adjoined that sold, or else the roads, streams, or other natural boundaries.

In line 4, the breakage of the tablet has caused several signs to disappear entirely, but the upper wedges of *SUḪ* occur again below the *eḳlu* of line 3. The neighbour's name is almost certainly the same as in line 3, though only the tops of the wedges of the first two characters are left. So this man was neighbour on two sides of the field.

The reverse preserves parts of the names of four witnesses. Of the first name no intelligible traces are left. The next name is a very singular one. On the photograph it looked very like Bu-sik-ti-is. The sign *bu* has other values, *pu*, *gid*, *sir*, *etc.* The sign *sik* may be read *šik*, and for the *k* can be read *g* or *q*. The sign has also the value *pik*, *etc.* Each of these two signs may be an ideogram. The photograph certainly seems to have the sign *ti* next, but the cast suggests *ru*, *gir*, or *aḫ*. The final *is* seems to be certain. It is next to impossible to say what name could be meant by these signs. I know of no Assyrian name that would fit them all.

The next name, Zêr-ukîn, is quite plain, and it was the name of a witness, son of one Ṭebetai, also on the former deed of sale discovered by Mr. Macalister, published in *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1904. It probably indicates the same person in both cases. The last witness, generally the scribe who drew up the deed, bore the well-known name Nergalsharezer, the Neriglissar of the Greeks.

The date raises some interesting points. It is given as the Eponymy of Aḫi-ilai. So the scribes at Gezer knew who was Eponym that year, at any rate as late as Shebat. The date assigned to this Eponymy by G. Smith in his Assyrian Eponym Canon was B.C. 647, but in the notes to his Inscriptions of Assurbanipal, p. 321, he admitted that his earlier conjecture might be corrected to B.C. 648. I think that in my articles on the Chronology of Ašurbânipal's reign, in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, I have proved that the date was B.C. 649. Of course, that means that Aḫi-ilai began his Eponymy with the year which began on the 1st of Nisan B.C. 649; but, as Shebat was 11 months later, the date of the tablet comes into B.C. 648. How far, depends, of course, on when Nisan fell in B.C. 649. Some scholars seem to

be positive that they know when this took place; I cannot venture a guess.

The name of the Eponym deserves a few remarks. The signs *AN-A-A*, which I follow Professor C. Bezold in reading *ilai*, have been read *Malik*, *Malkatu*, *malik*, or *Aya*, by various scholars. So far as they have stated their reasons, these seem to me to be insufficient. There seem to be two variants which speak strongly against all of them. One is *Aḫê-AN-A-A*, and another *Aḫi-li-i*. It is difficult to suppose that these can point to any other reading than that which I adopt. What *ilai* means exactly, I cannot be sure. It might perhaps be a way of writing *ili*, "my god"; or it may be for *ile'i*, "is powerful." Even the element *Aḫi*, or *Aḫê*, is not clear in meaning. But a whole article could be written on the name and its meanings. We may hope to know some day.

Knowledge grows apace. We did not know before what was Aḫi-ilai's office. This tablet tells us, once for all. He was *šaknu*, or viceroy, of Carchemish. When I wrote my articles on the Chronology of Ašurbânipal's reign, I conjectured, from other sources, that he was *šaknu* of Nineveh. As this was probably a higher position, we may conclude that he was raised to that post later than B.C. 649.

When I wrote my note on the former Gezer tablet I quoted G. Smith's date for Sagabbu without comment, because that was scarcely the place for a discussion which must be lengthy and highly technical. Now I would put it in B.C. 651. In any case, the dates of the two tablets are separated by only one Eponymy, that of Bêl-Ḫarrân-šadûa, the *šaknu* of Tyre.

It is very interesting to have the domination of Assyria at Gezer so clearly made out for this period. We may note that, so far as this tablet is concerned, there is no mention of the locality where it was drawn up. But this second discovery is of great value as supporting the genuineness of the first, and encourages us to hope for many more. There probably were many such kept in the private deed boxes of the inhabitants of Gezer, and we may hope for letters as well.

THE BEDOUIN OF THE SINAITIC PENINSULA.

By W. E. Jennings-Bramley, Esq.

(*Continued from p.* 137.)

V.—*Morals.*

The virtue they esteem above all others—even above bravery—is generosity. The heroes of all their favourite stories are men who, by lavish generosity, have lost all they had. They are often, of course, warriors whose prowess is superhuman. They meet and slay 50 men single-handed; nothing can resist them, nothing daunts them. And yet these invincible warriors are not first favourites with the Bedouin. He prefers the man who gives his all. Here is one of their stories.

There was once a man who spent all he had on others, killing his sheep, then his camels, to entertain those who came to his tent. One day when he had given all, the same people came again, and it seemed to him they came too often, and when he heard they had given orders that their camels should be left a long way from his tent, he was angry in his heart, for he saw they feared lest they might, for shame, have to offer him one of their camels, knowing they had feasted on all his. And when he saw this, he bade them welcome, and gave orders that the feast should be prepared; but secretly he bade his young men go and kill the camels these men had left far off, and to each he served the heart of his own camel; and one said, "Surely we are eating the hearts of camels," and another, "Are not these our own beasts?" And they went to where they had tethered their camels, and lo! they were all killed, and they took counsel together whether they should slay the man who had done this thing; but they dared not. And that night the man dreamt, and in his dream there came to him a man driving two herds of camels, one black and one red, and the man said, "These shall be thine, but ask not whence they come." And in the morning he awoke, and behold, he saw a man coming to him driving two herds of camels, one black and one red. And the man forgot, and asked, "Whence come the red camels?" And when he had spoken the words, he remembered his dream and said no more, so the herd of black camels remained his, but the red were driven away, and he saw them no more.

Bedouin laws of hospitality make it obligatory on all, whether poor or rich, to receive strangers, and to press them to accept food and shelter. If they have nothing to give themselves, they will borrow a sheep or a goat, which are always lent them, for the discredit of not having welcomed the stranger would fall not only on the individual but on the tribe. If a man express admiration for anything, it is offered him as a matter of course. He equally, as a matter of course, refuses it. When a Bedouin gives anything, he makes use of the expression "*min kîsak*," of which the literal translation is, "From your purse," that is to say, all he has being yours, this thing he offers was yours before he offered it; it came from your purse.

The reason why courage is less considered than generosity must be because it is an accepted quality. Every man is *de facto* brave, for he could scarcely live a Bedouin's life unless he were. It is only a matter of degree. The deeds celebrated in song during the evenings of the Rubeya', at the festal dances, must transcend in courage and daring the powers of any ordinary man. They generally approach, very often reach, the impossible, and the more astounding the deed, the more intense the *zagharît*, the shrill note with which on these occasions the women hail every reference to the hero. It is a brave race certainly, living as they do under arms and in continual readiness to defend their property and their lives from marauders; they become familiar with the idea of danger. No man ever moves unarmed or lies down without his sword and rifle beside him, not that they are a blood-thirsty race, or inclined to take life unnecessarily, but that the feuds and raids are a perpetual danger to them. Um-bakar, a friend of mine, told me that once when ploughing his patch of land he suddenly saw a man come over the hill in front of him. "I'll shoot if you do not retire," he cried. The man stopped and turned back. "Shoot him all the same," was the advice of another Bedouin ploughing with Um-bakar. "No," said he, "I told him to retire, and he has; I won't shoot." But the stranger, just as he disappeared over the crest of the hill, stopped and fired, hitting Um-bakar's camel in the flank.

There are many stories of victory against incredible odds. One of these tells how Suleyman ebn Fadar was sitting in his tent with his women, when these said they heard the far-off sound of approaching steps. "The Gûm is upon us," they cried. Out went Suleyman, jumped on his horse, his repeating rifle in hand. He

met them in a gully, and so well did he shoot, and so skilfully did he conceal the fact that he was alone, that after much firing the whole Gûm surrendered to him; that is, gave up their booty, for Bedouins never take each other prisoner. Slaves are sometimes raided, but not often; the object of the raiders being to return to their own territory as quickly as possible; prisoners hamper their movements.

Another warrior, Abû Ras, was in a Wâdy by himself, when the sound of horses' hoofs warned him that the enemy was near. He concealed himself behind some rocks where the Wâdy was narrowest, then as they passed rushed in among the horses, shouting and throwing stones, and thus, single-handed, completely routed the party.

All these stories, as has been seen, glorify the prowess of individuals. Needless to say, the tribe who celebrates the deeds of one of its members is not likely to lessen the odds against which he fought. The complete hero must not only be brave in the fight, he must be generous when the hour for dividing the spoil has come.

I think, as a race, they are honest; at any rate, they are most honourable in repaying their debts to each other and to those merchants from whom they have to borrow in order to carry on their trade. I have always been struck by the innate sense of honour which prevented their cheating when trusted. At least, I, who have always trusted them, have found them truthful and dependable. Higher than this they do not rise. When suspected they do not scruple to cheat if they can. Raiding is not stealing with them. They do not pilfer. It is true that the Azazma and Huitât have earned the reputation of being thieves, but other tribes, such as the Haiwat, look down upon them as such. The Maaza are accused of pilfering, not raiding. Their name, "Goat," is supposed to indicate this, for in the Bedouin mind there is a world of difference between *raiding* for camel and *stealing* goat, sheep, or donkeys. Heroes may do the first; the other is unworthy of men.

I think that in morals they would compare favourably with any race, certainly any Oriental race. The fact that all that happens in an encampment is known, that all may be said to be nearly related to each other, render intrigue almost impossible. The facility with which they divorce and re-marry render it objectless. They very rarely have more than one wife at a time, but they can change her

as often as they like, and I do not remember having met a man who had not divorced several wives.

If an unmarried woman is seduced by an unmarried man, the matter is very simply settled by his having to marry her. Where the woman is married, the husband's honour demands that he should kill his wife's paramour. No fine, nor any punishment less than death, can end the matter; but in either case, whether the woman be married or unmarried, little blame attaches to her. Her husband may divorce her, but as divorce is constantly resorted to for the slightest disagreement or caprice, the fact of being divorced leaves no slur on the woman. In the choice of a wife, what the Bedouin seeks, more than any other quality, is that she be a good goat-herd. A wife to whom the flocks can be trusted, and who never lets them stray, is a jewel in her husband's estimation, and one never likely to be without offers, however often she be divorced.

Bedouins very seldom have two wives at the same time. They prefer divorcing one before taking another, and it is remarkable with what apparent light-heartedness a woman will leave her children behind and marry another man, and perhaps care for his family by another woman. For they are affectionate mothers as long as they are with their own children, and when they have to leave them they seem to take the matter philosophically. I believe that if a woman is divorced without any just cause, the Sheikh may interfere and oblige her husband to let her have her children; but it may be that in many cases a woman's chances of re-marrying would be small were she to wish to bring her former husband's children to her new home.

By an old custom, fallen entirely into disuse, the man convicted of adultery would pay the price of four men, *i.e.*, the penalty exacted for the death of four men, and ride a camel smeared with pitch round the circumference of four territories. This is never enforced now; it would mean finding 170 camels, an impossible price to pay.

Two years ago, when I was travelling down the Wâdy Araba, I was suddenly met by a man calling to me that Ali had been shot. I knew whom he meant. This Ali was the eldest son of Suleyman Ebn Shadêd, Sheikh of the Haiwat of the Nejemat tribe, and I knew of the trouble he was in.

The Terabîn Arabs and the Haiwat have been friendly for generations, and a sort of offensive and defensive alliance exists

between the two tribes. Ali, though a Haiwat, had been staying with the Terabîn, south of Ghaza. Another man of his own tribe was living there too, but had gone on a long journey. This man's wife and sister meanwhile were in the desert some way off by themselves minding the flocks. They were not seen for some time, and when the wife returned to camp, instead of going to her husband's tent, she took refuge in her brother's. Her story was that Ali had carried her off by force and taken her to the country of the Abgad, where they stayed together a month, when he tired of her and left her to find her way home as best she could. Meanwhile the husband had returned from his journey, and Ali's position was a dangerous one. He, however, tried to evade the consequences of his act by declaring that he had never touched the wife, but had carried off the sister. No one had seen either for two months, and Ali's friends stuck to him, and, despite the wife's assertion that she was the woman and the sister's denial, Ali succeeded in collecting so many partisans that, though public opinion ran high, he thought he had sufficiently proved his case to be out of immediate danger of the husband's revenge. He returned to his father's tent in the Haiwat country, and took things easy. One day as he was sitting outside the tent smoking his pipe, a stranger rode up with his cloak drawn over his face, salaamed, and then the usual salutations passed between the two. The stranger's gun lay on the pommel of his saddle, pointing at Ali, and as he spoke he suddenly pulled the trigger—the bullet cutting through the fingers holding his pipe, passed through Ali's side, and lodged in the flesh of his back. The stranger—the woman's husband, of course—leaving him for dead, put spurs to his horse and galloped away, reaching the territory of the Teacha before his pursuers of the Terabîn could lay hands on him, and here they had to leave him unmolested for the time being, as, the Teacha having taken his part, they were not in sufficient numbers to fight out the question.

Ali's own story of the event was that his gun being at his side the stranger did not dare lift up his own from the pommel, lest, being warned by the movement, Ali had shot him. The bullet so injured Ali's fingers that he could not pull the trigger to shoot at the retreating man, and soon after loss of blood put him *hors de combat*. He nearly died of his wound, and while he was laid up the two tribes attempted to end the matter by arbitration. It was

proposed that Ali should pay 40 camels to the injured husband, not deducting any for the blood shed in revenge. This arrangement was refused both by Ali and his father, so that matters remained thus: Any male relation on either side could, and should, kill any on the other side at sight. Ali, of course, being the one particular object of the revenge of the husband and his relatives, they would hunt him down, lurking about the hills until a good opportunity presented itself.

However, after I left I heard that matters had been more peacefully settled. Ali was inclined to the expressions of pious sentiments when I last saw him. He told me that God always punished bad men, and exemplified the assertion by the fact that the man who shot at him had been somewhat seriously hurt by the recoil of his gun in firing. Now he sees the finger of God in the last event. The injured husband has died, and Ali, I am told, will marry the widow, and all will be well, and the two families at peace again!

I remember asking some of the tribe what they would do supposing they knew Ali was being tracked. They said they would warn him, but not otherwise interfere; it would be his business to fight it out.

In all this the woman is scarcely considered as culpable, and it always is so. If a man is caught with a woman, he can be killed by whoever catches him; there is no thought of punishing the woman; the only loss she incurs, if her husband divorces her in consequence of her misconduct, is that she must repay him what she cost him in the first instance.

In cases of theft there is no customary punishment. The matter is left to the individual taste of the man robbed, provided he has been lucky enough to catch the thief. He would be at liberty in that case to cut off the thief's hand, but I have never heard of such a punishment being inflicted—and I am convinced it would be repugnant to them to maim a man, they are not a cruel race—nor of any form of ordeal such as drinking boiling water to prove their innocence. The oath, *Wullâhe*, is very solemn and binding; but there is a difference which it is as well to keep in mind when dealing with an Arab. If he lays stress on the word God, emphasizes it, he is most probably speaking the truth. On two occasions I have been asked, when I have bought a camel, said to have the necessary five generations of known pedigree, and therefore a

Safî, "Did the man who sold it say, 'Wallâhe'?" meaning, if he did, all is well. Suleyman owed a camel to a man of another tribe. He said it was a dromedary, a Safî, with its obligatory five generations, but when the other asked him to swear it, he could not, so the camel at once fell in value to that of a mere baggage camel. A man whom I knew had a camel he particularly prized taken from him by the Gûm. He lost no time in riding after it, and, being well mounted, soon overtook the retreating raiders. As good luck would have it, the first man he came upon was riding the very camel stolen. "I'll shoot if you don't stop!" shouted my friend, but no notice was taken of his threat. Nor again when he repeated it, until the third time, when he preceded the words by the oath *Wallâhe;* then the other knew matters were serious, stopped, and gave back the camel.

For ordinary conversational oaths they almost always choose such things as bring them together. A very common oath, but to our own ears not a very impressive one, is *Wahat el-Bahrat*—"By this coffee pot"—and in swearing it I have often seen them touch the coffee pot with the end of their stick. They also swear by water. Such an oath as "By your father" is not so binding; it is used more as an interjection than an affirmation. A sheikh will often commence making a statement by such an expression as "My assertion to yours."

A sheikh has no power of life or death over the men of his tribe. Execution is a thing unknown to Bedouins; in cases of murder and the consequent blood feud, the aggrieved parties take the law, or rather the law is, in their own hands. No sheikh or council of Arabs can condemn a man to death, or even inflict a punishment; it can only, when the disputants appeal to it to decide the matter in question, impose a fine; it cannot even enforce the payment of this fine. The idea of depriving a man of his liberty to punish him for his misdeeds has not yet suggested itself to the Bedouin. In fact, it would be practically impossible.

Although in cases of misconduct they treat the guilty woman very leniently, they are very strict about their women; and the certainty of being hereafter at the mercy of the injured husband, to be killed at sight wherever and whenever found, acts as a powerful deterrent. In fact, crimes of this kind are rare, and the story of Ali is an exceptional case, for women wander by themselves safely

all over Sinai, minding their flocks, sometimes several days' journey from their own men folk, and no harm comes to them.

Illegitimate children are, I might say, unknown. Both men and women are married as soon as they reach puberty. They can divorce and change wives as often as it pleases them, and they certainly make full use of this privilege. Everything is known in an encampment, and any intrigue with an unmarried woman is soon discovered, and public opinion obliges the seducer to marry the girl.

An old Bedouin once asked me if what he had heard could indeed be true about the public women to be found in towns. The idea seemed to him quite inconceivable, and his disgust at the idea very genuine. If the ordering of such things lay in his hands, he said, he would marry them all off! I have found so much more natural refinement of feeling among Bedouins than among Fellahîn; for instance, the first never offend against decency in their ways and manners, as a Fellah constantly will.

Although they seldom have more than one wife, in the case of a man dying and leaving a widow, his brother is bound to marry and look after her and her children, if she have any. They will strive to win the admiration and approval of their women much more than the Fellahîn. As in all uncivilized nations, this can only be done by prowess or physical strength. Suleyman recounted to me his sensations when, on a horse lent him by a friend in Ghasa, he passed a pretty girl, and how he had made the horse prance and curvet about, determined to be outdone by none in her presence. For some reason or other they fancy the English think as they do about women, and are a fighting race; therefore, said Suleyman, he thought his tribe might allow of our intermarrying with them. He inquired if we beat our women. "We do," he said, "it is the best way to manage them."

The men, when talking together, tell each other stories of hard riding, hard fighting, and lavish generosity. They never speak of the beauty of living women of the tribes, though some of their poetry is romantic enough, and deals with the traditional loves of beautiful women and heroes. In none of the tales recited before me have I noticed any licentious allusion; in fact, I am convinced that they have a high conception of the purity of women, and that although the easy manner in which they divorce and re-marry would seem to imply a general laxity of morals, this is

not so. They are, as I have shown, very severe in their condemnation of any breach of the moral law, as they understand it. They are free from the unnatural vices of other Eastern nations, and do not regard them with the same tolerance. When I have questioned them they have expressed the utmost horror and abhorrence.

(*To be continued.*)

CALLIRRHOE AND MACHAERUS.

By Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D.

THE following are notes of a journey in Moab, April 18th and 19th, 1904, from Madaba by Ma'in to the hot streams Hammâm ez-Zerḳa in the Wady Zerḳa Ma'in (Callirrhoe) and thence to Mkawr (Machaerus), with a description of the remains of Herod's Fortress of Machaerus—secunda quondam arx Judæae ab Hierosolymis (Pliny, *H.N.*, vi, 16, 72). My companion was Dr. G. S. Buchanan, of London, to whom I am indebted for the Plan.

First Day.—Madaba to the Hammâm ez-Zerḳa.

7.5 a.m.: Left Madaba (2,500 feet above sea level; temperature, 49°, at 6.15 a.m.), and rode south-west towards Ma'in. 7.25: Passed et-Teym on the left, following a good track. This is crossed, about three-quarters of an hour from et-Teym, by a track running north-west, on which we saw two Arab clans migrating in that direction. Our guides (Khalil es-Ṣuwāliḥeh, of Madaba, and a Circassian soldier from the garrison) said that this is a much-used line of movement from the centre of Moab towards the southern end of Jordan, the direction of the Israelite immigration. 8.5: Left the main track to climb a steep path towards Ma'in, now immediately in front; traces of a paved road (with several deep cisterns and rock-cuttings) all the way to the ruins on the top. 8.15: Top of Tell, with small burial ground and a few wretched hovels, inhabited by a dozen Christian families who came from Kerak some 14 years ago, and four or five Moslem families. I got from them a silver coin of Gallienus, and a copper one of Constantinus, jun.,

found in the obviously Byzantine ruins. Ma'in occupies the kind of position so often chosen for ancient sanctuaries in Palestine and elsewhere: an isolated hill in the centre of a hollow formed by a circular ridge. To the south this ridge is as high as, and to the south-west higher than, the hill of Ma'in; it is sustained towards the north-west, hiding the Judæan range beyond; falls slightly on the north and more rapidly round by the north-east; east and south-east the view is open over the rolling plateau of Moab, the three great cañons of which are clearly marked across it—far

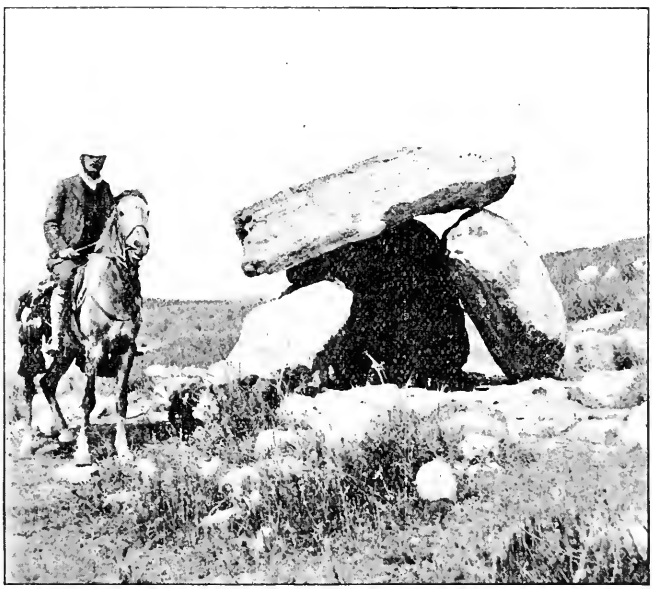


Fig. 1.—Dolmen at el-Mareighāt, Wady Zerḳa Ma'in.

to the south the southern cliffs of the W. el-Mōjib with Jebel Shiḥān beyond; nearer, the line of the W. el-Wāleh; and, beginning as a shallow depression at the foot of the hill of Ma'in, cutting the encircling ridge on the south-west, and breaking at less than an hour's distance into a deep trench, the W. Zerḳa–Ma'in, which we followed for the rest of the day.

9.5: Left Ma'in and rode down to a tributary Wady, on the west, with foundations of old walls, a prone pillar or two, and an old reservoir with a strong retaining wall (marked on the Survey

map). Entering the main Wady and following it S.S.W., we reached, at 9.20, a gully, down which we came upon an open and fertile stretch, where Abu Wendi Arabs (*cf. Eastern Pal. Mem.* p. 293: "'Arab el 'Awāzim at Minyeh, and eastwards to Ma'in, Sheikh 'Aly Abu Wundi") were striking their tents after ploughing the ground against the next winter's sowing of wheat. We left them at 9.35, and at 9.43 passed the finest of the group of dolmens, el Mareighât ("smeared things" or "places"), described by Colonel Conder. Ascending the slope on which most of these lie, we were, at 10.0, on the edge of the fall of the W. Zerḳa Ma'in into the deep trench mentioned above. Descending this fall by a steep zigzag path, we crossed the bed of the Wady with a shallow stream at 10.26. The stream flows off through heavy groves of oleanders, in which it were possible to conceal a whole army. We heard numerous cattle lowing and splashing through the water. The path follows the line of an old aqueduct on the left bank, almost due south; the high mountain ahead being the Jebel 'Aṭṭārūs.

11.3: An Arab graveyard. 11.10: The corner where the Wady turns west. 11.18: A circle of stone blocks. 11.50: Crossed the bed, now dry, to the right bank, and entered on a plain; for here the Wady, set nearly due west, is very broad. Black volcanic stones appear. 12.10: Reached the west end of the plain and rested above a rocky descent to the stream, beside basalt ruins, called Khurbet Zerḳâweyn (زرقاوين). 2.20: Left this, descended a rocky path, with a glimpse of the Dead Sea through the gorge of the Wady, and crossed the now fine stream to the left bank. 3.3: Ascended by zigzag path to a broad plateau strewn with basalt stones, and traversing this came above the Hammâm ez-Zerḳa at 3.30, and commenced the very steep descent into the wide, deep basin of the Wady, in which the hot streams take their rise. About 3.50 we struck the stream near the west end of the basin, where the cliffs approach from either side, leaving a gorge of only some 20 to 30 feet wide, and a high hot waterfall pours into the stream from the cliff on the northern bank, with large deposits of lime and sulphur. The temperature of the stream just where it receives the waterfall is 110·5°, and just below, 109·5°; that of the air in the shadowed gorge, 78° to 82° (these were taken at 8.30 next morning). Just above the gorge were three or four tents and a number of booths erected by Arabs from the neighbourhood; fellahin, and

townsfolk from as far away as Jerusalem and Bethlehem, all come to bathe in the hot water for rheumatism and diseases of the skin. We struck up stream half a mile to a low plateau on the right bank, where we pitched our tents. A stream of hot water, 11 feet broad and one to two deep, springs from the cliffs to the north of this, and shooting past the plateau in a series of low cascades enters the main stream. The temperature of this tributary, 50 yards from its source,

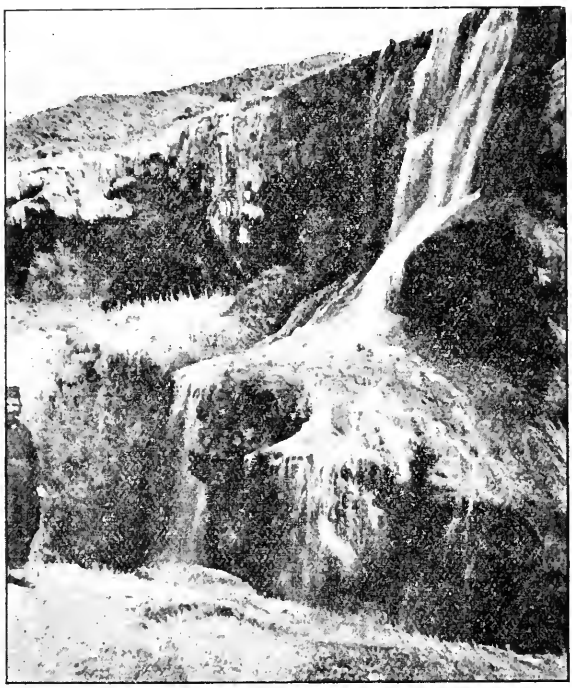


FIG. 2.—Upper Half of the Hot Waterfall in Hammâm ez-Zerḳa, seen from the rocky platform on the other side of the gorge.

to which we could not penetrate owing to the reeds and mud, was 126° (air, 78°), but lower down, 134° (owing to additional hot springs), and at its junction with the main spring, 112°. Just below the junction the temperature of the latter in a small cascade where we bathed was 102°, but lower down, 127°, due to two hot springs bubbling in one of its eddies.

Irby and Mangles emphasize "the grand and romantic features" of the basin. "The rocks vary between red, grey, and black, and have a bold, imposing appearance." The cliffs to the south show strata, from the bottom up, of sandstone, basalt, and limestone. On the north there is a spread of tufa and tufaceous rock over the sandstone, and terraces of tufa rest on the sulphurous detritus, which in places has given way under them. There are frequent humps and horns of tufaceous rock. The vegetation is lavish. Thick reeds hide the main stream and sources of the tributaries; there are numerous palms, aspens, and thorns, much retem with pink and white blossoms, other bushes and flowers everywhere. The air was full of the music of waters, birds, and crickets. As we sat by our tents the sun set over the line of the Judæan hills, seen through the narrow gorge of the Wady, to the west of the basin. I do not remember a finer evening in Palestine: the clear atmosphere, the light breeze up the valley before sunset, and down the valley after sunset; a blue sky shading to green, and the new moon upon it. To my *Shahrak Mubarek*, "thy month be blessed," a native replied, *Inshallah yanfatih alai wijhak bab er-rizak*, "Please God, may there be opened to you the gate of livelihood" or "maintenance." Afterwards Orion shone brilliantly in the south-west sky and set over the hill on the left bank of the Wady. With the darkness the hills encircling the basin seemed to draw closer, and their outline was sharp against the stars.

I have little doubt that this part of the Wady Zerḳa Ma'in, with its hot stream and hotter tributaries, is the Callirrhoe to which Herod the Great was carried in his last illness. Seetzen (*Zweite Reise z. Toten Meere*, 1806), Ritter (E. T. iii, 68*ff*), and Dechent (*Z.D.P.V.* vii, 196*ff*) have proposed in preference the group of hot and cold wells to the south on the Dead Sea coast, known as Eṣ-Ṣara (visited by Seetzen), and it is true that Josephus describes the water of Callirrhoe as flowing into the Dead Sea (*Antt.* xvii, vi, 5, *Wars* I, xxxiii, 5). But this fact is almost as immediately true of the waters of the Hammâm ez-Zerḳa. And in *Wars* VII, vi, 3, Josephus describes a number of hot and cold wells, the waters of which when mingled (just as we found) "make a most pleasant bath full of healing for [all] diseases, but especially good for the nerves," and which had about them deposits of "sulphur and an astringent salt" (probably alum), in the valley to the north of Machaerus. He calls the place *βααρας* (one cod. reads *βααρ*), which

might be בְּאֵרוֹת or בְּאֵר "wells" or "well";[1] while Jerome in the *Onomasticon*, under "Beelmeon," gives the name as Baaru.[2] There is no objection to taking these as identical with the Θερμὰ ἅπερ σὺν τῇ ἐς πάντα ἀρετῇ καὶ ποτιμά ἐστιν, which Josephus places κατὰ Καλλιρροην, "down on Kallirrhoe," and not as Καλλιρροη itself. While, therefore, Baaras was the name of the hot springs or streams, Kallirrhoe was that of the whole Wady Zerḳa Ma'in, or, at least, of that part of it on which the hot springs were situated. We now see how accurate Josephus was in adding: ἐξεισιν ἐὲ τὸ ὕὲωρ τοῦτο εἰς λίμνην τὴν ἀσφαλτοφόρον λεγομένην, "this water issues into the Lacus Asphaltitis."

I asked of our guides and others in the place whether any road led to it from the Jordan Valley along the coast of the Dead Sea or over the hills on the north. They all said that they knew of none. Nor did the Survey party who came from the north find any path descending into the basin, although they mark on their map a fragment of an ancient road on the hill above. We may suppose that in ancient times the common road for visitors from Western Palestine to these baths was round by Medeba, or, at least, by Ma'in (as we ourselves and the visitors we found from Jerusalem had come). This is confirmed by the visit of Petrus the Iberian.[3] Notice, too, that Eusebius connects "the mountain of the hot waters" with Βεελμεων.

Second Day.—From Callirrhoe to Machaerus.

We woke at 5.30 and found a strong easterly breeze blowing down the Wady, dry, but without the dust or heat of the true Sherḳiyeh wind; temperature 73°. After exploring the basin once more, we left the bed of the Wady at 8.55, and climbing the zigzag path on the south by which we had descended, we reached the

[1] This etymology, however, is doubtful, for in a Syriac translation (A.D. 741) of the Biography (*circa* A.D. 500) of Petrus the Iberian (Richard Raabe, *Petrus der Iberer*, Syriac text with German translation, Leipzig, 1895), Baar is spelt with a medial 'Ayin, בְּעֵר, and if this be the proper spelling, the name meant *Burning*. The description of the valley, with its hot and cold springs, given in this biography is vivid and accurate, even to its praise of the wonderful climate, which, however, the writer attributes to the virtue of Petrus, and confines to the short period of his visit.

[2] Under Καριαθειμ, Eusebius seems to indicate the same place by Βαρις, and Jerome by Baare.

[3] *See* preceding notes.

cairn on the edge of the tableland above at 9.25. The hills on the north of the basin appear much steeper than those on the south; to judge by the clumps of vegetation on them, the hot streams there spring on the same level on which volcanic rocks appear below the limestone. From this point there is a great view of the Dead Sea and Judæa. 9.40: Started across the plateau, covered with basaltic stones. 9.50: Reached its southern edge at foot of low hills, and came by a path south-west through these to the foot of high hills at 10.2. Ascended these by a Wady, and then on a ridge to the shoulder of a hill overlooking the Dead Sea at its coast, at 10.14. Climbing further, we came out at 10.23 at a cairn on a still wider view of the Sea to the south and south-west. Engedi and Masada very clear across the water. Dropping over this ridge, we descended south-east a little way into the next parallel Wady, crossing it on the edge of a great cliff, 200 feet high, over which it breaks to a deeper basin. 10.45: Turned east up the south bank of this Wady, and then by zigzags on a steep shoulder covered with the fragrant herb *shiah* (شيه)[1] to the edge, 11.15, of a long level ridge, forming the edge of the Moabite plateau, on which are strewn the ruins of the Beled Mkawr, "the town of Machaerus." All the way up to this from the cliff there had been visible on our right a bold, regularly shaped Tell, which our guides called Kaṣr el-Meshneḳeh (المشنقة), "the Castle of the Hanging-place" or "Gallows," where, they added, John the Baptist was beheaded. This is the fortress of Machaerus; it lies due west, nearly a mile from the ruins of the town, and separated from the edge of the plateau on which the latter lies by a complex of wadies (*see* Plan on next page).

The next few hours and the following morning were spent in examining the ruins of the town. They show the features common to the remains of Byzantine towns in Moab; the masonry of the walls—from 2 feet to sometimes 5 feet thick—is the usual rubble between two lines of large dressed stones, without mortar. Many of the buildings were vaulted. There are no openings, but numerous deep cisterns in the limestone rock; the few which still hold water are carefully guarded by a sept of the Hamîdeh Arabs, whose chief came to our tent and sold us some water. They cultivate a little of the surrounding plateau and house their cattle in the ruins. The ruins extend about three-quarters of a mile from north to south, and

[1] In this form unknown to the Lexicons, which give Shiaḥ for wormwood.

perhaps half a mile from east to west on the ridge, which is divided into two parts connected by a col. At the north end a town wall appears to have crossed the ridge from east to west, and there are traces of a causeway here, on the road towards Callirrhoe. There also seemed to be a line of wall on the east of the ridge, but, if so, it crossed the Wady to the east of the latter. The bulk of the buildings

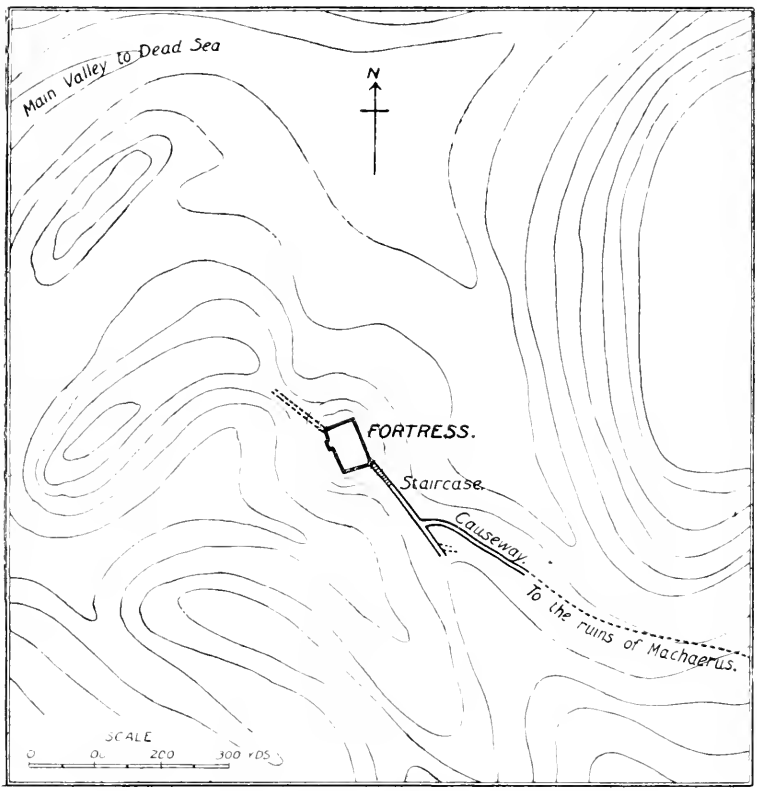


Fig. 3.—Plan of the Fortress of Machaerus, with its environs.

were domestic, but there were obviously several public buildings. The largest of these, called the Keniseh by the Arabs, on the west edge of the ridge, is about 20 paces square (but probably longer originally, for a more recent wall cuts across its west end), and shows the remains of a semi-circular apse at the east end with a cave under the centre of it, a bank behind the cave and the apse built up from

this. There is another rectangular building just south of the col, about 18 paces by 14, with a little apse on its S.S.W. end. To the outside this apse is rectangular, projecting from the wall, but on the inside the stones are so hewn as to make it semi-circular. Another large building had a doorway with stumps of pillars round it. The largest dressed blocks I saw were about 3 feet 8 inches by 2 feet 10 inches by 10 inches. I found also a round stone basin, $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and $1\frac{1}{4}$ in diameter, and one grooved stone, a foot high with a groove of 8 inches, as if for a small conduit. There are several caves. The entrances to some are natural, but others have been cut circular in the rock, and others have a little vaulting over them. Nowhere did we see any mortar. So much for the town.

Leaving its north end by a sloping shoulder, we came down west to the deep Wady on the east of the Kaṣr el-Meshneḳeh. I had not a copy of Josephus with me, but I find the details in my notes correspond to his account of the stronghold of Machaerus. He describes this (*Wars* VII, vi, 1, 2) as a very defensible place: "For what is walled round is a rocky mound, raised to a very great height . . . . it is trenched round on all sides by gorges to such a depth that the eye cannot easily reach their bottoms . . . . and impossible to fill up with earth. For the gorge which cuts it off on the west extends 60 stadia, passing into the Dead Sea; and on this side the summit of Machaerus overtops everything else. Although those on the north and south fail of the size of this gorge, they are equally impassable; while the gorge on the east is not less than 100 cubits deep, and is bounded by a hill lying over against Machaerus." Alexander Jannæus was the first to fortify the place, but Gabinius destroyed it. Herod the Great, because of its contiguity to Arabia, "thought it worthy of his regard and of the strongest fortification." "So surrounding a large space with walls and towers, he built a city there, from which an ascent led up to the summit itself. Further, he built round the summit a wall, and placed towers at the angles, each [1] 60 cubits high. In the middle of the enclosure he built a palace most sumptuous in the size and beauty of its apartments, and in the most suitable spots he constructed many tanks for the holding of water and the plentiful supply of it: as it were vieing with Nature so as to outdo, by artificial fortifications, the means of resistance with which she had endowed the place. Besides, he equipped it with a mass of darts

[1] So Niese; several codd. read 160: ἑκατὸν for ἕκαστον.

and engines, and planned the preparation of everything which might render its inhabitants secure against the longest siege." When Lucilius Bassus (in 71 or 72 A.D.) came to besiege Machaerus, the Jewish garrison, "separating themselves from the strangers with them, forced the latter, deeming them a mere mob, to remain in the lower city and bear the brunt of the danger, while they themselves, seizing the citadel (*φρούριον*), held it both on account of its strength and with design to their own safety; for they assumed that they would obtain a pardon if they surrendered the place to the Romans." Skirmishes followed between the two hosts, till Bassus, having captured Eleazar, a brave Jew of noble family, pretended to be about to crucify him in sight of the besieged. Thereupon the latter "sent out messengers to treat for the surrender of the citadel on condition that they should be allowed to go free and have Eleazar restored to them." On the Romans consenting, the mass of those in the lower city, having learned of the agreement made by the Jews for themselves, "resolved to fly secretly by night. But as soon as they opened the gates, word of this came to Bassus from those who had made the agreement with him. . . . . The bravest of such as made the sortie managed to escape, but of those left within about 1,700 men were slain, and the women and children enslaved. Bassus, feeling himself obliged to keep his agreement with those who surrendered the citadel, let them go and gave them back Eleazar."

With one possible exception (the "lower city"), this account suits the site and features of Ḳaṣr el-Meshneḳeh. It is a steep mound or hill rising abruptly from a ridge as narrow as itself, which runs north-west and south-east between deep valleys (*see* Plan), which Josephus is right in describing as impossible to fill up. The gorge or valley on the west, as he says, runs to the Dead Sea. The length he gives to it, 60 stadia, may be compared with the two or three hours which our guides gave as the time required to reach the Dead Sea coast from el-Meshneḳeh. So far as I remember, Josephus is also right in saying that Machaerus overtopped all the hills on this side. The whole Judæan range was visible to us across them. The tower on the Mount of Olives, a bit of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Engedi, and Masada were very distinct; so, too, Jericho and the green ribbon of the Ghor. The gorge on the east is much deeper, as well as narrower, than that on the west; Josephus gives it as "not less than 100 cubits"; we estimated it as over 400 feet

deep from the fortress walls. The hill on its other side, described by Josephus as "lying over against Machaerus," is the western spur of the ridge on which the ruined tower lies. Again, Josephus says that although the valleys to the north and south of the fortress fall of the size of the other two, they are equally impassable. Roughly, this is correct. They are not properly valleys like the others; the hill merely sinks north and south to the level ridge from which it rises. Across this, on the north, a trench has been dug in the rock, its bottom about 100 to 110 feet below the fortress walls. On the south or south-east the ridge is from 90 to 100 feet below the latter. The hill is very steep. The ascent to the fortress, the ἀνοδος mentioned by Josephus, was from the south-east. Here the causeway, now called el-Jisr, is still almost intact along the neck of the ridge, and from it there rise right to the fortress walls the remains of a staircase, partly cut in the rock, partly built. Our guide, when he saw it, at once said "Derrāj" (steps). The length of the causeway is 133 paces, and the breadth 9 feet. At the 70th pace from the foot of the staircase another causeway breaks off to the left (the east) on the line of the present path up the Wady towards the ruins of the town. The summit of the hill, which appears to have been levelled, is enclosed within nearly rectangular walls, of which a few courses still stand. The north side is about 56 paces, the south about 46, the west about 67, the east about 80. Traces remain of the towers which Josephus describes at the angles: the heaviest was that at the north-east corner, and there was also a strong tower or gateway lying out from the west wall, about 20 paces from its north end. Down this side there were at least three large halls, but evidently the whole space within the walls was built upon. Near the north end much still remains of a large reservoir, 17 paces long by 8 paces broad, sunk below the surface, but of built stone and thickly coated with cement. In parts where I measured it the castle wall was 4 feet thick; it runs round the edge of the levelled summit; but there appears to have been an outer rampart or wall 10 feet out from, and 4 feet below, the other. The masonry is quite different from the unmortared ruins of the Byzantine town. It is beautifully constructed, and everywhere heavily mortared. The mortar is still as hard as modern concrete. "No mud in that!" said our guide.

Ḳaṣr el-Meshneḳeh is, therefore, obviously the fortress of Machaerus, built by Herod, and surrendered to Bassus. But where

are we to place "the lower city" which Josephus mentions? The ridge from which the fortress rises is too narrow to have held this; but it may have lain on either of the lower eminences at the north and south end of the ridge respectively—more probably on that to the south at the other end of the causeway where I noted some remains, though the darkness prevented our making an examination of them. One thing is certain, "the lower city," besieged along with the fortress, cannot have been on the site of the Byzantine town to which the name Mkawr is now attached, for this, as we have seen, lies nearly a mile away.[1]

It was interesting to see the very extensive view from the walls of the fortress. If the captives of Herod Antipas were allowed to look out of their prison, then John the Baptist had before his eyes one of the most comprehensive prospects in all Palestine. It comprised nearly every stage of his own education and ministry: the deserts of Judæa, where he was brought up; part of the Temple, where he had been presented as a child, seen round the Mount of Olives; and the Valley of the Jordan, where he achieved his ministry. One could not help wondering if this second Elijah, as he looked down at the scene of his great predecessor's translation, ever expected the arrival of his own horses and chariots of fire. It is singular to remark how the three great prophets—Moses, Elijah, and John—all passed away within a few miles of each other, across Jordan, in the land of Moab, over against Beth-Peor.

[1] Machaerus does not appear in the Old Testament, nor on the Moabite Stone. But the Targums have substituted in Num. xxxii, 1, 3, 35, for Jazer מַכְוֹר, Makwar, and in Num. xxi, 32 מִכְבָּר, Makbar. Both forms occur in the Talmudical literature: *see* Levy, *Neu. Hebr. u. Chald. Wörterbuch*, who cites, besides, מִכְאוֹר. The original Semitic form is thus preserved in the present Arabic Mkawr. Various derivations of it have been proposed (*e.g.*, Lightfoot, *Opera*, ed. Leusden, ii, 582). Looking from the Moab plateau at the shape of the fortress-hill, one is reminded now of a camel's saddle, and again of a cap: in Arabic one of the names for the former is Makwar, while Mikwar means a royal head-dress of Persian origin. The Greek form, both in Josephus and Strabo, is Μαχαιρους, and the Latin, as in Pliny, Machaerus. Reland (p. 218) cites from a Greek *Notitia Ecclesiastica* among the Arabian towns Κώμη Μαχαβερος (or ως), and Tobler and Molinier, in *Itinera Hierosolymitana* (1879), p. 326, Machaverus. It is remarkable that neither Eusebius, Jerome, nor the account of the visit of Petrus the Iberian (fifth century) to Callirrhoe, nor the Medeba Mosaic Map mention Machaerus. Nor does it occur, so far as I know, in the literature of the Crusades; though in the list inserted in old codd. of the *Histories* of William of Tyre, and quoted by Reland (225 *ff.*), it is probably represented by the corrupt form Mahadaron.

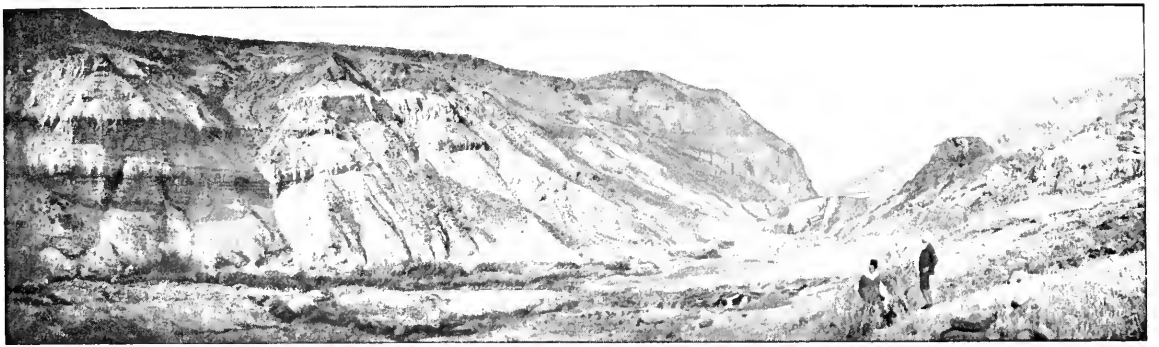


FIG. 4.—Basin of Hammâm ez-Zerḳa, looking West.

FIG. 5.—Machaerus. From the Ruins of the Byzantine Town. The Kuṣr el-Meshneḳeh is the bold hill in the centre. The Gorge runs between it and the Plateau.

(To face p. 230.)

THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

By Major-Gen. Sir C. W. Wilson, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S.

1. *General Remarks;* 2. *The City Walls in* A.D. 70.

1. *General Remarks.*—Before attempting to investigate the questions connected with the ancient walls of Jerusalem, some consideration of the general principles that governed the construction of fortifications in early times is not only desirable, but necessary. Jerusalem was strongly fortified at all periods of its history, but there is no reason to suppose that there was anything unusual in the trace and construction of its walls. The defences of Jebus could not have differed greatly from those of other Canaanite cities; the walls of David and his successors, which Nehemiah restored, were constructed probably in accordance with Phœnician systems of fortification; and the citadels and walls built by Herod the Great and Herod Agrippa were almost certainly Greek or Greco-Roman in character.

Philo of Byzantium,[1] who embodies the experience of his day, lays down that the trace of a wall, and the form, size and position of its towers, must depend upon the natural features of the ground. The salient angles should not be too advanced, for such salients are more useful to the besiegers than to the besieged; and the towers should be so situated as to give each other mutual support. In the construction of fortifications every effort was made to guard against the blows of the battering ram and the insidious attacks of the miner, for these were considered far more dangerous than the projectiles of an enemy. Thus on steep rocky slopes the foot of the wall was rendered inaccessible or difficult of approach by scarping the rock beneath it; whilst on level or undulating ground it was protected by a deep ditch. The range of ancient projectiles was small, and a wall of sufficient height and medium thickness,[2] even when the ground rose upwards at a moderate slope from its foot, was ample protection against them. On the other hand, the

[1] *Circ.* 150 B.C. *Traité de Fortification*, par Philon de Byzance, traduit par M. A. de Rochas d'Aiglun (in Société d'Emulation du Doubs, "Mém. Sér.," vol. vi, Besançon). *See also* Vitruvius (*circ.* 28 B.C.), i, 5; and Vegetius (end of fourth century A.D.), *Les Institutions Militaires.*

[2] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 11, gives the height of the towers at Jerusalem as 60 feet when built above a scarp, and 120 feet when standing on the lower ground.

blows of the ram and the pick of the miner could only be resisted by solid, well-built masonry. The walls exposed to their attack were consequently of great strength and thickness. Their lower portions and those of their flanking towers were frequently solid masses of masonry,[1] and their bases were sometimes protected by masonry revetments built at the angle of slope best calculated to resist the ram and projectiles, and to render escalade difficult.[2] Where the walls and towers were exposed to the attack of an enemy, the masonry was faced wholly or partially with large stones having projecting bosses, to counteract as far as possible the shattering effects of concussion; where they were not exposed to attack, as on the sides facing the town, the masonry was of plain-dressed stones having no bosses. On weak fronts, especially in advance of gateways, there were frequently entrenchments composed of ditches and palisades, and there is some evidence in Josephus that there were such entrenchments at Jerusalem.

The description which Josephus gives of the siege in A.D. 70, and existing remains, show that the fortifications of Jerusalem were at that time of exceptional strength, and that they had been planned and constructed with great skill.[3] The Jebusite walls had no doubt disappeared, but the *first* and *second* walls, though frequently damaged and repaired, must have retained much of their original character. The ancient scarps above which the *first* wall stood and fragments of the masonry are still visible on the west and south fronts; but on the north it is uncertain whether the wall ran above a scarp or behind a ditch. The *second* wall, built on undulating ground to the north of the *first* wall, must have been of great thickness, and must have been protected by a rock-hewn ditch. The *third* wall was, probably, not unlike the walls of some of the Greek towns in Asia Minor, and its northern front at least must have been protected by a rock-hewn ditch. In those portions of the modern defences that undoubtedly belong to the Herodian period, Greek influence is very apparent. The "Tower of David" is in all its features a tower such as Philo describes, and the beautifully-dressed and jointed stones of its sloping revetment are essentially Greek in character.

[1] Josephus, *B.J.*, v, 4, §§ 2, 3.

[2] *Ib.*, v, 4, § 4; 5, § 8.

[3] *Cf.* Tacitus, *Hist.* v, 11. Two hills, of considerable height, were enclosed by walls scientifically constructed with re-entering angles, and curves to take an assailant in flank.

It was believed at one time that any fragment of masonry at Jerusalem could be dated, approximately, by the manner in which the stones were dressed.[1] But Mr. Dickie, a trained architect, who was associated with Dr. Bliss in the excavations at Jerusalem in 1894–97, came, after a study of all the masonry exposed, to a different conclusion. After pointing out that the modern stone dresser uses the same tools that his predecessor did when the ancient walls were built, he remarks that his investigation "tends to encourage scepticism as to the possibility of fixing periods by any hard and fast rules of masonry alone."

"Each succeeding style has mingled with its predecessor from the time of its production. Boss and margin work may have been used in early Jewish times, but was undoubtedly used in later Jewish-Roman times, and afterwards. Comb-pick margin with pick-centered dressing was certainly used contemporarily with the boss and margin, and may have been used before. Quarry-pick dressing is universal. The delicate pick-centre and comb-pick margined dressing of the Haram Area is certainly characteristic of one great building period such as the reign of Herod the Great might signify."[2]

Boss and margin work is simply a natural development in stone dressing.[3] It is found in the Hittite walls at *Boghaz Keui*, in the walls of Phœnician cities in Syria and Palestine, of the eighth century city at Lachish, and of Greek cities in Asia Minor; it is seen also in Roman and Byzantine buildings, and in castles erected during the period of the Crusades. The highly-finished masonry of the Wailing Place, and of the revetment of "David's Tower" might be a copy of that of the *podium* of the temple of Diana at Ephesus,[4] or of that of the temple of Jupiter at Athens, so close is the resemblance.

[1] There was a general impression that most of the stones with a marginal draft were Jewish. This view has long been recognised as an error due to insufficient archæological knowledge, and it appears to have owed its wide dissemination to Porter, who wrote, in Murray's *Handbook to Syria and Palestine*, of the "Jewish bevelling."

[2] *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894-97, p. 282.

[3] As soon as walls were built with closely bedded and jointed stones some dressing of the margins became necessary. The faces of the stones were left rough or finely dressed according to taste, and the character of the wall.

[4] In the British Museum there is the face of a stone from the Temple burned B.C. 356, which is almost identical with the best work in the Wailing Place.

2. *The City Walls* A.D. 70.—At the time of the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, the city was protected on the north side by three walls, and for the trace of these fortifications the only authority is Josephus. In his general description of the defences[1] the Jewish historian follows the historical order of the walls: The *first* is the old, or inner wall, the *second*, the intermediate one, and the *third* the new or outer wall built by Agrippa. But, in recording the incidents of the siege, he refers to the walls occasionally in terms that would naturally be used by a Roman officer outside the city. From this point of view the outer line of defence becomes the first wall,[2] the intermediate line the second, and the earliest or inner line of defence becomes the third wall.[3] In the following remarks the walls are referred to in their historical order :—

Second Wall.[4]

"The *second* wall started from a gate called Genath (or 'Gennath'), which belonged to the *first* wall, and, enclosing only the northern quarter,[5] went up to the Antonia."[6] The wall was defended by 14 towers, and was not connected, at any point, with the *third* wall.[7] It was intended to protect the quarter to the north of the old city. Immediately north of Herod's fortified palace few houses had been built, and here the space between the *second* and *third* walls was occupied, for the most part, by terraced gardens in which probably there were rock-hewn tombs.

It is now generally agreed that the Antonia, the acropolis of the Eastern Hill, was situated at the north-west corner of the *Harâm esh-Sherif*, and portions of the ditch running, approximately, east and west, that separated it from Bezetha[8] have been discovered. The expression "went up to the Antonia" shows that the wall ran straight up from the Tyropœon Valley along the south side of the ditch, and that it did not, as some writers have supposed,[9] either take a wide sweep to the north, or follow, in part, the course of the

[1] *B.J.*, v, 4, §§ 2–4.
[2] *B.J.*, v, 6, § 2; 7, § 2; 8, § 1.
[3] *B.J.*, v, 6, § 2; 8, § 2.
[4] The description of the *first* wall is omitted.
[5] *Lit.* "encompassing the quarter to the north alone." This quarter appears to be the suburb (προάστειον) of *B.J.*, i, 13, § 3, where some texts read προσάρκτιον, and of *Ant.* xiv, 13, § 4; xv, 11, § 5.
[6] *B.J.*, v, 4, § 2.
[7] *Cf. B.J.*, ii, 19, § 4.
[8] *B.J.*, v, 4, § 2; 5, § 8.
[9] Robinson, Tobler, &c.

present wall, and then come down over the ridge of Bezetha to the acropolis.

The position of the Gate Genath, which may have derived its name from the gardens that were enclosed between the *second* and *third* walls, is unknown. The interval between the Tower Hippicus and the gate must have been considerable. Before commencing the siege Titus made a reconnaissance, and decided to take the Temple by way of the Antonia, and to make his attack upon the "Upper City" by the monument or tomb of the high priest John.[1] The latter point was selected because, in that quarter, the *third* wall was lower than elsewhere, and the absence of any line of defence between the *second* and *third* walls exposed the *first* wall to direct attack as soon as the outer wall had fallen.[2] An additional reason was that the space between the *second* and *third* walls was unencumbered by houses, and the approach to the *first* wall through the gardens was easy.

It would appear from the above that the monument of John was situated between the *second* and *third* walls. And, since the citadel is not mentioned, there must have been an appreciable distance between the monument and the almost impregnable towers, Phasaelus, Hippicus, and Marianne. Titus would not have attacked these towers and the fortified palace. Evidently his intention was to isolate them[3] by breaking into the "Upper City" through the weaker wall to the east. The tomb of John was certainly post-Exilic, and consequently must have been outside the *second* wall. It was in close proximity to the *first* wall,[4] and 45 feet from the mound thrown up by the 10th Legion at the Pool Amygdalon, which is usually identified with "Hezekiah's Pool." This pool, like the monument of John,[5] was outside the *second* wall.[6] It is certainly an ancient pool, and there must have been some reason, such as the prior existence of a massive wall, for its con-

[1] *B.J.*, v, 6, § 2.

[2] Josephus seems to hint (*B.J.*, *l.c.*) that it was originally intended to build a wall which would connect the *second* and *third* walls, and protect this weak point, but the intention was never carried out.

[3] This he eventually did, but at another spot (*B.J.*, vi, 8, §§ 1–4).

[4] *B.J.*, v, 9, § 2; 11, § 4.

[5] The monument was either the sculptured face of the rock-hewn tomb, or a pyramid or stele above it.

[6] The south portion of the wall was standing and its towers occupied by the Romans when the two mounds were thrown up (*B.J.*, v, 8, § 2), and these mounds would not have been erected on opposite sides of the wall.

struction on the side of a hill. In two instances—the *Birket Israil* and the Lower Pool of Siloam—the dams of the pools formed part of the defences of the city at certain periods of its history; and it is natural to suppose that the eastern wall of Hezekiah's Pool was similarly connected with the fortifications of Jerusalem. It is true that the pool would have been, in this case, outside the wall, but, as the water could easily be run off to reservoirs at a lower level, this was of no importance. The surface of Christian Street is here many feet above the rock, and the houses on the west side of the street are built on solid masonry,[1] which, originally, may have formed part of a city wall. Taking into consideration the space required for the mounds thrown up against the *first* wall and the distance necessary to secure the besiegers from missiles and hostile attacks from the citadel, it is hardly possible to place the *second* wall nearer the "Tower of David" than the east side of "Hezekiah's Pool,"[2] a distance of about 250 feet. On the other hand, if it were placed still farther east it would be in too close proximity to the main thoroughfare of the ancient city.

The quarters of Titus, on ground known as "the Camp of the Assyrians," was beyond the range of missiles from the *second* wall.[3] The exact position of "the Camp of the Assyrians" is not known, but the tent of Titus would naturally be pitched on the back of the western spur of the plateau in close proximity to the tower Psephinus which had fallen into his hands, and whence the whole field of operations could be overlooked. The first camp of Titus was 400 yards from Psephinus, and the camp of one of the legions was the same distance from Hippicus.[4] These camps would be well out of range of any engines likely to be available inside Jerusalem, and it may reasonably be supposed that the second camp of Titus, on the high ground, would be out of effective range of missiles from the *second* wall at about 250 or 300 yards.

The *second* wall must have been protected by a rock-hewn ditch, and its lower half must have been a solid mass of masonry from 15 to 20 feet thick. The stones were probably of great size, and those on the outer face of the wall would have marginal drafts, and rough projecting bosses.

[1] *Quarterly Statement*, 1891, pp. 277, 278; 1899, p. 44 and plate.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 44; *see* section of wall and pool.
[3] *B.J.*, v, 7, § 3.
[4] *B.J.*, v, 3, § 5.

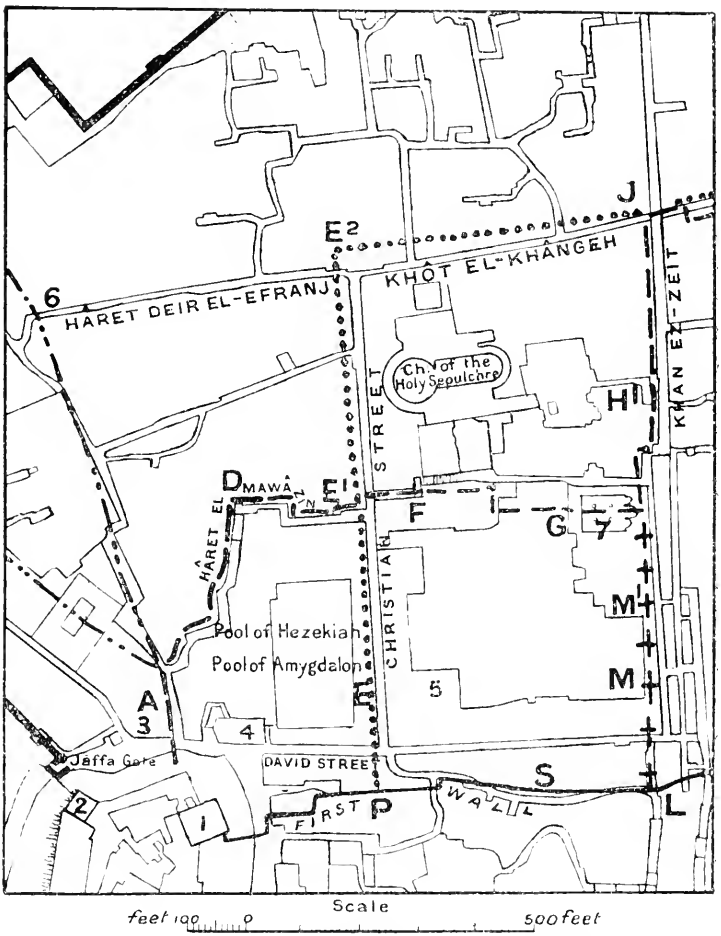
All the principal authorities are now agreed that at its eastern extremity the wall ran along the south side of the ditch of the Antonia; but there is no such agreement with regard to the position of the Gate Genath at its western end. On this point three different views have been put forward, and each of these has been supported by arguments drawn from the existence of isolated masses of masonry. The first theory is based upon a fragment of an old city wall (A, *see* Plan), which extends for a distance of 120 feet from the front of the Grand New Hotel, north of the citadel, to the corner of the street *Haret el-Mauâzin*. Several writers consider this fragment to be a portion of the *second* wall; and place the Gate Genath either in the "Tower of David," or in the curtain wall connecting it with the tower by the Jaffa Gate. The wall is well situated for defence, but the descriptions given by Josephus of the project of attack framed by Titus, and of the operations of the siege (*see* p. 235), render its identification with the *second* wall of the city impossible. The position assigned to the Gate Genath is also an improbable one. The fragment, which has no ditch in front of it, and apparently no towers, is probably a portion of the wall which Hadrian built round the civil town or colony of Ælia. The number of relics of the 10th Legion, Fretensis, found near the rock during the excavations,[1] combined with the absence of pre-Roman objects, seems to indicate that the ground was not occupied prior to the siege by Titus. It may also be observed that the Roman engineers, when constructing the legionary fortress after the siege would, almost certainly, have demolished completely all walls within 300 feet of their fortifications. The fragment, apparently, is referred to Hadrian by Saewulf (*see* p. 241), who saw Jerusalem before its reconstruction during the period of the Latin Kingdom.

Writers who reject the authenticity of Golgotha maintain that from the north end of fragment A, the *second* wall either ran in a north-westerly direction to the ruins of walls in the garden of the Latin Patriarch (B), and at *Kasr el-Jalûd* (C);[2] or that it continued northward towards the Franciscan Convent (*see* Plan); and that then,

[1] These included stamped pottery and an inscribed column (*Quarterly Statement*, 1886, pp. 21–24, 72, 73).

[2] The masonry of the fragments A, B, C, so far as it is known, differs so much in character that it is not easy to maintain the view that A, B and C are parts of a continuous wall.

in either case, it followed the present city wall to the Damascus Gate. This line seems to take too wide a sweep, and it is open to the objection that, unless the wall ran southward along the west



Plan showing Alternative Lines of Second Wall.

Reference:

1. Tower of David (Phasælus).
2. Hippicus.
3. Grand New Hotel.
4. Mediterranean Hotel.
5. Church of St. John.
6. Franciscan Convent.
7. Church of the Redeemer.

H. Russian Convent.

J. Porta Judiciaria.

side of the Tyropœon Valley, there would have been a descent and not an ascent to the Antonia. On the other hand, if the wall continued eastward beyond the Damascus Gate, it would have enclosed parts of Bezetha which were outside the *second* wall.

It may be added that no remains of important walls have been found to the north of a line drawn west from the *Porta Judiciaria* (J on Plan); that the accumulation of rubbish is far greater and more general to the south of that line than it is to the north of it where the rock is often visible; and that whilst rock-hewn chambers, cisterns, and caves are common to the south of the same line, they are almost unknown to the north of it.[1]

Advocates of the authenticity of Golgotha accept the theory of the late Dr. Schick[2] that the wall turned abruptly to the east at the end of fragment A, and then followed the zigzag course of the *Ḥaret el-Mawâzin*[3] to some massive masonry (E^1) at the corner of Christian Street. The ruins at a sharp bend in the former street (D), now known to be mediæval, were supposed by Dr. Schick to be the remains of an old corner tower. From E^1 the wall is carried across Christian Street, to a block of masonry (F) beneath the minaret of the Mosque of Omar, and thence eastward to a fragment of a wall (G) which runs east and west under the centre of the German Church of the Redeemer, and stands upon débris of some depth. A little further east the wall is assumed to turn at a right angle and join the ruins in the Russian Convent (H). These remains are supposed to extend northward to the traditional *Porta Judiciaria* (J), and to have formed part of the eastern side of a large castle at right angles to the wall. They have not, however, the characteristics of ancient fortifications, and neither the historical records nor the natural features of the ground lend support to the view that the re-entering angle[4] at this point was occupied by an important fort. The masonry faced with large stones is probably

[1] Schick in *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, pp. 192, 193; Pierotti, *Jerm. Expd.*, i, 33.

[2] *Z.D.P.V.*, vol. viii, and Plates, especially Pl. 8; *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, pp. 191–193, and Plan. The best paper in support of this theory is by R. P. Vincent (*R.B.*, 1902, pp. 31–57).

[3] The zigzag course is supposed to indicate the existence beneath the surface of a wall with towers.

[4] A large castle in a re-entering angle as suggested by Dr. Schick would be contrary to the rules of fortification, and is unknown in the defences of any ancient city.

part of the eastern wall in front of the entrance to Constantine's Basilica. It undoubtedly contains stones taken from earlier buildings, possibly from the *second* wall, but it could not have belonged to the defences of the city. Dr. Schick places a gate tower at J, and then carries the wall eastward along a high rock-scarp[1] to a block of masonry at the "House of Veronica" (K). From this point the wall, after crossing the Tyropœon, is carried up, along the south side of the ditch (*see* p. 234), to the Antonia. According to Dr. Schick[2] the assumed wall was protected by a wide ditch which extended from the Jaffa Gate to the St. Stephen's Gate. This ditch is entirely imaginary. No certain evidence of its existence has been found anywhere excepting at the place where it separated the Antonia from Bezetha. At several points, even where the ditch is said to have been traceable—on the west side of the supposed castle—there is now known to be solid rock, as on the north and south sides of the Chapel of St. Helena. Unfortunately Dr. Schick, whose accuracy as regards measurement is well known, rarely made any distinction either in his writings or in his drawings between existing and assumed remains.[3] He considered it necessary to identify everything that he found, and his enthusiasm frequently led him astray in his efforts to complete or support preconceived theories.[4] This tendency is most marked in his attempt to define the course of the *second* wall and its ditch; and it is to be regretted that his views[5] have been so widely adopted. There is no evidence that the isolated fragments of masonry, some of which differ widely in character and construction, ever formed part of a continuous wall; and there is no certainty that either of them belonged to the *second* wall.

[1] *Quarterly Statement*, 1890, p. 20. It is doubtful whether this scarp is continuous; but, if the wall ran this way, it may mark the position of a strong tower at the salient.

[2] *Z.D.P.V.*, vol. viii, Pl. 8.

[3] Guthe holds the same view (*Z.D.P.V.*, viii, p. 278).

[4] Schick writes "*merely* to say that this and this was found, would have been to show that I did not understand things of antiquity" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 122). This explains his wish to identify every isolated fragment of masonry.

[5] Schick's mind was always open, and he never neglected to publish new facts even when they disproved his theories. Thus, in his paper on "The Site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre" (*Quarterly Statement*, 1898, p. 145 *ff*), he acknowledges that the view of the lie of the rock upon which he based his theory of the ditch of the *second* wall was wrong.

The *second* theory is that the fragments of an old wall (E, E[1]) on the west side of Christian Street are portions both of the "broad wall" and of the *second* wall[1]; and that the Gate Genath was near the point P, where a southerly prolongation of the east side of Hezekiah's Pool would strike the *first* wall. From the Gate Genath, which may have been in the west side of a tower like that in one of the towers at S, the wall is supposed to run northward to E[1]; and then, either to turn eastward to F and G and follow the line proposed by Schick to the Antonia or to continue northward to the fragment of a wall at E[2]. From this last point the wall would follow the north side of the street *Khôṭ el-Khângeh*[2] to the *Porta Judiciaria* (J), and thence an undetermined line to the Antonia. It would appear, from what Saewulf says, that, at the commencement of the twelfth century, there was a conspicuous wall in the position indicated by the fragments E and E[1].

"The church is situated on the declivity of Mount Sion, as was the city itself,[3] after that the Roman princes, Titus and Vespasian, had, by the vengeance of the Lord, destroyed from the foundations the whole city of Jerusalem . . . . We know that our Lord suffered without the gate. But the Emperor Adrian, who was called Helias, rebuilt the city of Jerusalem, and the Temple of the Lord, and extended the city as far as the Tower of David,[4] which formerly had been some distance from the city; as anyone can see from the Mount of Olives, where the extreme west walls of the city formerly were,[5] and how much the city was afterwards extended" (Saewulf, *Pilgrimage*, pp. 9, 10; *P.P.T.S.*, vol. iv).

The position of this wall, and its distance from the citadel, satisfies the requirements of the narrative of Josephus (*see* p. 235). But there is no evidence that the wall extended north of E[1], or south of the pool; and none of the existence of a ditch, unless, as is probable, the "Pool of Hezekiah" formed part of one.[6] The character of the

[1] The view is that Nehemiah rebuilt a wall of the time of the monarchy and that the *second* wall of Josephus was, in all essential particulars, the wall of Nehemiah.

[2] Excavations have shown that there could have been no ditch or city wall between the north side of the street and the church.

[3] This would be the region of the bazârs which was occupied by squatters after the siege.

[4] The wall A occupies the position referred to.

[5] The wall E, E[1] on the east side of the pool.

[6] This view is held by M. Clermont-Ganneau (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 298).

masonry at E^2 is also different from that at E and E^1. The *P. Judiciaria* occupies the right position for the north gate in the wall, but here again there is no evidence, and the tradition may be nothing more than a reminiscence of the fact that at the point where the *second* wall crossed the main street there was an important gateway.

Assuming that the tower Psephinus was at the north-west angle of the modern city, where it is placed by most commentators, the tent of Titus would have been quite 300 yards from any point of the suggested wall, E, E^1, E^2, but not so far from that represented by A, D, E.

Conder maintains[1] that "the nature of the ground admits of no other line" but one which "started near the Tower of David." But at the period when the wall was first built command was a secondary consideration, and the occupation of the higher ground was not necessary for defence (*see* p. 231).

The third view is that the *second* wall commenced at the traditional Gate Genath (L), and ran northwards, past some fragments of masonry (M, M^1) mentioned by Pierotti,[2] to the remains in the Russian Convent (H) and the *P. Judiciaria* (J). Thence it followed the line proposed by Schick to the Antonia.[3] The traditional Gate Genath stands on an accumulation of rubbish no less than $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep,[4] and it is probably not earlier than the fifth or sixth century. So little is known of the masonry seen by Pierotti that no opinion can be formed as to its date. It may have belonged to a wall separating the bazârs from the quarter of the town to the west. The principal objections to the third view are the small area the wall would enclose; the close proximity, for a considerable distance, of the wall to the principal street of the city; the apparent absence of any important ruins between the points L and H; and the existence of no visible trace of a ditch.

The only safe conclusion seems to be that no certain trace of the *second* wall has yet been found. Possibly one or other of the

[1] *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 73.

[2] *Jer. Expd.* i, 33.

[3] This view is maintained by Pierotti (*l.c.*); Furrer, *Art.* "Golgotha," in Schenkel's *Bib. Lex.*; and R. P. Germer-Durand (*Echos d'Orient*, vol. vi, pp. 160–174).

[4] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, p. 276.

isolated masses of masonry noticed above may be a fragment of that wall, or mark its position at a particular point; but none of them, singly or collectively, supply definite evidence with regard to the course of the wall, or throw light upon the question whether it included or excluded the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The massive masonry west of Christian Street appears to me to have formed part of the *second* wall, but extensive excavation alone can show whether this is the case, and, if so, where the wall turned east, and where it crossed the street *Khân ez-Zeit* and the Tyropœon Valley.

THE CRAFTSMEN'S GUILD OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

I.

In the excavations conducted by Sir Charles (then Captain) Warren at Jerusalem,[1] in those of Dr. Bliss in the Shephelah,[2] and, again, though to a less extent, at Gezer, certain stamped jar-handles have been discovered which have given rise to a good deal of controversy. The device impressed upon these handles consists of a winged creature, recognised by Professor Clermont-Ganneau[3] as a flying scarabæus; above, in Old Hebrew letters, the inscription לְמֶלֶךְ, "to the king," and below one of four words, which we may conventionally transliterate *Hebron*, *Shocoh*, *Ziph*, and *Memshath*.

The first specimens discovered were incomplete; they consisted of a *Ziph* handle without its central *yodh*, and a *Memshath* example without its initial *mims*. It was, therefore, natural to take these imperfect words as unknown proper names, and to translate "Belonging to King Zepha" or "Belonging to King Shat."

The hope was at the time expressed that some further information might later come to light regarding these newly-found royal

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem*, pp. 474–5.

[2] *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, pp. 104, 184; *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 106–118.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 204.

personages, and that some explanation might be discovered of the difficult passage 1 Chron. iv, 23, mentioning the potters who "dwelt with the king for his work."[1]

Later a *Shocoh* handle was unearthed, and this led to the identification, by Professor Sayce, of the names underneath the flying scarab as *town* names. A suggestion that he first made,[2] connecting the stamp with the local god or *Molech* of the towns mentioned, was afterwards withdrawn[3] in favour of the explanation that the towns were the sites of potteries under royal patronage. On the other hand, Professor Clermont-Ganneau[4] advanced the hypothesis that the jars to which the handles belonged were the receptacles for dues and taxes, paid to the king in kind, which had been collected from districts of which the towns in question were the centres.

Zepha and Shat thus went the way of all kings, and the "town" theory received unexpected confirmation in the discovery of the first *Hebron* handle at Tell Zakarîya by Dr. Bliss. On the other hand, the first complete *Memshath* handle (from Tell el-Judeideh) was unlooked for; it was natural to see in the surviving letters of the one specimen till then known the termination of (*More*)*shath*. Instead, a name was found for which the Bible, the Onomasticon, and the map were searched in vain.

It was thought that other town-names might from time to time make their appearance. This hope has been disappointed; and now as new handles come to light and are always found to belong to one or other of the four groups, I have ceased to expect any additions to the list. The present seems, therefore, a favourable time to re-examine the subject.

A fatal objection to the "royal pottery" theory ought to have been obvious from the first. In modern Palestine, there are potteries at Ramleh, Jerusalem, Gaza, and other centres. The clay and the technique at all these places possess so many peculiarities that very little practice is needed to be able to distinguish at a glance the work of each town. This modern analogy suggests that, had there been potteries at the places named, their work would have been distinguishable by criteria other than the stamps impressed upon them. This is not the case, however: a *Hebron* handle and a

[1] *Recovery of Jerusalem* (loc. cit.).
[2] *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 240.
[3] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 210.
[4] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 204.

Shocoh handle are always so much alike that they might have belonged to the same vessel. Such an identity of type and material is a physical impossibility if the handles come from different manufactories.

On the other hand, the three known towns are not well placed to be the centres of fiscal areas, and there are many parts of the Kingdom of Judah (such as the entire territory of Benjamin) which they could not serve in the capacity suggested. Besides, if Memshath were sufficiently important to be the capital of a district, we might surely have expected to find some reference to it in the historical or prophetical writings.

Beside the stamps with "to the king" (which we may call by the name that has become general, *royal stamps*) others have been found on handles precisely similar. These can be classified into two divisions: the first, which we may call *private* stamps, are evidently impressed with a seal of the ordinary Old Hebrew type bearing two names divided by a horizontal line—no doubt the personal and patronymic names of the owner; the second, which will here be termed *ornamental* stamps, bear a device, usually a rosette or star. In some jar-handles two or three concentric circles are impressed (specimens are figured in the *Recovery of Jerusalem* and *Excavations in Palestine*) either in addition to the stamp, or, more rarely, alone.

The private stamps, no doubt, are those of the potters, and the present paper is written to support a thesis that, though not absolutely new,[1] has not hitherto been worked out fully—namely, that *Hebron* and the other three words are not the names of cities at all, but of men; and that those men were the potters who worked under royal patronage and who are alluded to in the passage in 1 Chron. already cited by Captain Warren.

II.

It is generally agreed by scholars that the date of the Book of Chronicles is to be assigned to some time about 300 B.C. When

[1] After the first draft of this paper had been completed, I discovered a paragraph by Professor Hilprecht, quoted in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, p. 209, from the *Sunday School Times* of 27th May, 1899, making the same suggestion with regard to the first *Hebron* jar-handle found as is here proposed. I had quite forgotten this paragraph till I accidentally lighted upon it while revising the paper.

the compiler was engaged in collecting the genealogical material with which his first chapters are filled, it is evident that he did what anyone else would have done under the circumstances. Before him were a number of documents, some fairly continuous and complete, others mere waifs, in part illegible, that had survived the storm and stress of the exile. Naturally, he paid first attention to the longer and more intelligible fragments, working in, wherever a suitable place seemed to offer, such of the smaller extracts as he could make out. At the end he copied the remainder of the decipherable fragments, fortunately without making any attempt to link them together by original matter. Such a method was, of course, apt to lead to grave errors, not the least of which is the certainty of confusing two persons of the same name who happened to be mentioned in different extracts; and that such a confusion has actually taken place more than once I hope to show.

In the consideration of the genealogies to which the present section is devoted, it must not be forgotten that names given as those of personal individuals are sometimes ethnic or territorial; and also that we need not assume either that all the steps of a pedigree are given, or that all the sons of a family are mentioned.

The long genealogy of the tribe of Judah, which occupies 1 Chronicles, chaps. ii, iii, iv, 1–23, is the most perfect example of the chronicler's method. The first of these chapters is an almost continuous pedigree, from which a tree can without much difficulty be constructed—there are a few obvious gaps, such as the omission of Carmi's paternity in chap. ii, 6 (to be restored with the help of Joshua vii, 1), but these cause little embarrassment. Towards the close of this chapter the matter becomes more fragmentary. In chap. iii, the historian is entirely occupied with the royal house of David; to this part of the genealogy we need not again refer. The fourth chapter, so far as it relates to the tribe of Judah, consists entirely of incoherent fragments, interspersed with odds and ends of personal history, such as the story of Jabez in verses 9, 10.

In the following paper I hope to show that among the materials which the chronicler had before him were stray scraps of an ancient record containing the genealogical record of a family whose head-quarters were in the district of Hebron, some of whose members rose to distinction, and enjoyed royal patronage, and with which we have, as I may express it, been brought into personal contact by

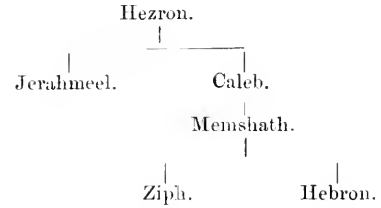
recent excavations. For reasons that will presently be understood, I shall call this supposed source the *Records of the Craftsmen of Judah*.

If we read the genealogy of Chronicles with the stamped jar-handles in mind, the attention is arrested by chap. ii, 42; this runs, according to the Revised Version (which I follow throughout the present paper): "And the sons of Caleb the brother of Jerahmeel were Mesha his firstborn, which was the father of Ziph; and the sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron." Here are two names of the four found on the royal stamps, together with Mareshah, an easily-understood corruption for a third, *Memshath*. This leads us to further investigation; and when we turn the page, and find in chap. iv, 16, the name of Ziph; in chap. iv, 18, "Heber the father of Soco"; in chap. iv, 21, once more Mareshah; and at the end, in chap. iv, 23, "these were the potters . . . [who] dwelt with the king for his work," it is obvious that we have a promising clue to the explanation of the royal stamps which is well worth following up.

The ancestry and family connections of Caleb are given in chap. ii, 18–21, and he is named as son of Hezron, whom the chronicler clearly identified with Judah's grandson of that name. Evidently he considered the Chelubai, כלובי, of chap. ii, 9, to be identical with the Caleb, כלב, of verse 18. In this he appears to have fallen into error, for the interpolation of the Caleb genealogy has a disturbing effect on the pedigree. As a rule, the Chronicler enumerates the sons of a family; then he follows out the descendants of the eldest for a few generations, and returns to the second, and afterwards to the third, and so on in order. Here he has made one easily-comprehended departure from his scheme, in tracing out Ram, the second son of Hezron, first of all—obviously because he was ancestor of the royal line; he should then have returned to Jerahmeel, but instead is made to work out the complicated family relationships of the youngest son, Chelubai or Caleb, after which come particulars regarding the re-marriages of Hezron (verses 21–24). The removal of these verses would make the genealogy run much more smoothly, and more in accordance with the scheme of the official pedigree which forms the framework of the Chronicler's compilation. In this passage I see the first fragment that we meet with of the *Records of the Craftsmen*.

In verse 42, with which we commenced the discussion, the Greek version enables us to make a correction of importance.

Mesha there gives place to *Mareshah* (Μαρεισά), and the pedigree thus becomes continuous. It is not necessary to point out how easily both these names could have arisen from corruption of the *Memshath* of the jar-handles: the first by the loss of a *mim* and the confusion of an unknown name with that of the famous king of Moab; the latter by a confusion of two not dissimilar letters,[1] *mim* and *resh*, and the influence of the well-known town name *Mareshah*. As I hope to bring forward sufficient cumulative evidence for the identification of Mesha and Mareshah with *Memshath*, I shall make the correction at once, and represent the little scrap of genealogy in verse 42 in tabular form, thus :—



Passing now to the second mention of Ziph, in chap. iv, 16, we are confronted by a difficulty. Ziph is there stated to be son of *Jehallelel*, a person of whom we do not hear again before or afterwards. The solution of this discrepancy is very simple, though for various reasons I hesitate to suggest it. *Jehallelel* is a corruption of the name *Jerahmeel*: two torn or worn places in the fragment from which the Chronicler was copying would account for the error, as the following diagram[2] shows.

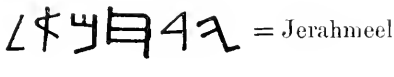


FIG. 1.

The name Jehallelel could easily occur to the Chronicler, for it appears in a passage (2 Chron., chap. xxix, 12) where there is no special reason to suspect corruption, a fact which shows that it had

[1] Of course in the Old Hebrew character.

[2] The lettering, of course, is meant to represent the character in which a contemporary record might be supposed to have been kept, a fragment of which I assume to have been before the Chronicler; and not the later script of the Chronicler's own time.

an actual separate existence as a personal appellation. Professor Cheyne (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, *sub voc.*) has anticipated this correction, but has built different theories upon it, and has not indicated the simple process by which the error may have arisen.

That Ziph is stated in chap. ii, 42, to be [grand]son of Caleb, and in chap. iv, 16, of Jerahmeel[1] is easily accounted for by supposing him, or rather his father Memshath, to have been the offspring of a levirate marriage. The very unusual description of Caleb as "brother of Jerahmeel" in chap. ii, 42 (instead of "son of Hezron"), seems to indicate some such conclusion. If so, we must suppose that Jerahmeel died childless, and is a different person from the Jerahmeel, son of Hezron, of chap. ii, 9, whose numerous descendants are catalogued in chap. ii, 25–41. This agrees with the theory already put forward that Hezron, father of Chelubai, and Hezron, father of Caleb, ought not to be identified. Though theoretically the law regarding the levirate marriage was straightforward, in practice it must have caused much confusion, especially when the highly-developed selfishness of the normal Oriental and his personal longing for a numerous male offspring is taken into account. It is not in the least surprising that even in the same record a person should be enrolled as son of the actual father in one place, of the legal father in another.

That "Heber, father of Soco," is to be identified with the Hebron of chap. ii, 42, and the Hebron of the jar-handles, is a tempting hypothesis. The loss of the final *nun*, which is all that is wanted for the identity of the names, is an accident that could easily happen. It is true that Soco has no place among the sons of Hebron in chap. ii, 43; but it appears to me that the Chronicler, misled by a similarity of names, has again gone off the track at this point, and inserted from another fragment particulars about the house of a different and otherwise unknown Hebron, none of whose descendants reappear in the parallel passage in chap. iv.

In chap. ii, 42, however, Hebron and Ziph are brethren, or at least nephew and uncle; in chap. iv the gulf between the two names is wide and difficult to bridge. Let the reader examine chap. iv, 16–18, and he will see three broken strands in the genealogy. The first is the appearance of Ezrah in verse 17, who comes before us as suddenly as did Jehallelel just now; the

[1] The omission of the intermediate link (Memshath) in chap. iv, 16, is not a matter of serious moment.

second is the obvious gap preceding the words, "and she bare," in the middle of verse 17, no female having been mentioned to whom the "she" can refer; the third is the lack of precision regarding the husband of "The Jewess"—a reading to which the marginal Ha-Jehudijah must surely be preferred.

Ezrah, I think, can be linked to the sons of "Jehallelel" by a process similar to that just followed in the case of Jehallelel himself. In Hebrew letters it is spelt עזרה. The ע would in an ancient document like the theoretical *Records of the Craftsmen*, be represented by a small circle that might very easily be effaced: and a slight injury to an ר would turn it into a ם (*see* the diagram, Fig. 2.) The doublet Huppim = Huram among the sons of

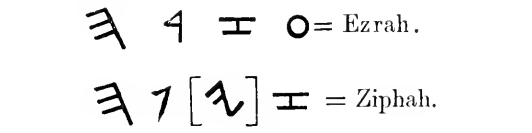


Fig. 2.

Benjamin (1 Chron. vii, 12, viii, 5) is similar. If an officious scribe had the well-known name זיף in his head, and came upon זפה (not knowing that it was a worn-down form of עזרה) he might easily be supposed to insert a *yodh* in order to homologate the forms; and if he had immediately before written the name *Ziph* he would the more be tempted to make this correction. Therefore, when we find in two consecutive verses, "And the sons of Jehallelel, Ziph and Ziphah . . . , and the sons of Ezrah, Jether," &c., it is not very rash to suggest the substitution of Ezrah for Ziphah. That "Ziphah" had a brother *Tiria*, and "Ezrah" a son *Jether*, offers an argument in favour of the equation; I believe that Dr. Buchanan Gray has shown that kindred often bore names cognate in form or meaning.

The missing antecedent to "and she bare Miriam," has been supplied in various ways. The Greek version, which is followed by Kittel, substitutes "and Jether begat Miriam." Many modern critics, including the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, transfer the sentence about Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh, in chap. iv, 18, to this place; but, as will presently appear, there are other uses for this mysterious

[1] *Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 8, as quoted in *Quarterly Statement*, 1904, p. 342.

princess. The suggestion I have now to make is so simple that some one must surely have hit on it previously; I can only claim to have arrived at it independently. Noting that female names very rarely occur in these genealogies unless wifehood or motherhood is expressly in question, I would suggest that Miriam herself was a second wife of Ezrah, specified as such in a line of writing that has dropped out, and that it was she who was the mother of Shammai and Ishbah. As I conceive the text that lay before the scribe, it ran something like this (of course without word-divisions and final letters)—

ובניעזרהיתרומרדועפרוילון
ותהיאשהאחרתלעזרהושמהמרים
ותהרמרימאתשמיואתישבחאבי

"And the sons of Ezrah were Jether and Mered and Epher and Jalon; [and Ezrah had another wife whose name was Miriam] and Miriam bare Shammai and Ishbah the father," &c.

The similar beginnings of the lines would easily deceive a copyist's eye. The Greek reading *καὶ ἐγέννησεν Ἰέθερ*, as well as the Massoretic ותהר אתּ־מרים ואת', I take to be guesses of later scribes who realised that the sense was discontinuous.

As to Ha-Jehudijah, after this correction it is not difficult to see that the sense requires her to be treated as a third wife of Ezrah, since no other person is brought into sufficient prominence in the context.

These conjectures link Hebr[on] to Jerahmeel [Jehallelel] as was required, and show him to have been a nephew of Ziph, which is in practical agreement with the fragment of genealogy in chap. ii, 42.

Mareshah, mentioned in chap. iv, 21, we may for the present pass over; at the stage which we have reached we pause to notice that we have now found the four names on the royal stamps in close genealogical relationship, and closely associated with a Biblical passage referring to certain potters who worked for the king. We have also seen that the names in the pedigrees are in successive generations, of which Memshath is the first and Shocoh the last. It occurred to me at this point that there was a possibility of testing the soundness of the above conjectures.

Yusif, the foreman of the Fund's excavations, is one of the few Orientals who have a general interest in antiquities for reasons

other than their pecuniary value. He has taught himself the Old Hebrew alphabet, and finds pleasure in spelling out the names on jar-handles which have been found from time to time at Gezer and elsewhere; and, having no theories of his own, his judgment is unprejudiced. Without giving any hint of the reason for my enquiry, I asked him which of the four groups of royal stamps had, in his opinion, been most often picked up *on the surface of the ground* in the tells where he had worked. Without hesitation he answered "*Shocoh*," an answer confirmatory of my conclusion that the Shocoh handles ought relatively to be the latest of the four. In a later section the absolute chronology of the jar-handles will be discussed.

III.

In the 18th verse of the passage we are analysing, occurs a sentence calculated to arrest the attention of the most casual reader: *And these are the sons of Bithiah, the daughter of Pharaoh, which Mered took.* How could any Pharaoh have a child named "Daughter of Yahweh"? And who, we ask in wonder, was Mered, that his should be the honour of espousing an Egyptian princess? These problems can no doubt be answered in various ways: that such events, though highly improbable, are not impossible, or that Pharaoh does not mean the Egyptian king, or that there is some corruption in the names; but there still remains the unanswerable question, *who* are the sons of Bithiah? No persons are mentioned who can be assigned to her as parent in any of the neighbouring verses: the mother of the preceding list is Ha-Jehudijah, of the following lists the unnamed wife of Hodiah.

In these difficulties it has occurred to me to express a doubt whether Bithiah was a real person at all. I would take "Bithiah, daughter of Pharaoh," to be a *kenning* (to borrow a useful term familiar to students of Icelandic literature) for the scarabæus, which is so conspicuous a feature of the stamped jar-handles. "Daughter of Yahweh," because a religious emblem; "daughter of Pharaoh," because of Egyptian origin. The "Sons of Bithiah" would therefore mean "men who used the scarabæus." It is possible, indeed, that originally some Egyptian divinity was named in the place now occupied by "Yahweh"; and that a scribe, shocked that foreign heathenism should find a place in a Hebrew genealogy, converted Bithiah to Judaism by a simple alteration of her name before admitting of her union to Mered.

But why Mered? It cannot imply that Mered was the first to adopt the emblem, for Mered's grandfather, Memshath, used it on his jar-handles; and, so far, no archæological evidence connecting Mered with the scarabæus has come to light. I would suggest that what was here originally was something like אשר לקח[ו ב]מרד "which they adopted *in contumacy*" (an expression of disapproval natural to the Chronicler), and that a copyist who misunderstood the kenning and was deceived by the occurrence of the proper name Mered a line or two before, ventured on an emendation. Omitting the bracketed letters, he transformed, like some magician of the Arabian Nights, a beetle into an Egyptian princess, who, in later Jewish folklore, became the foster-mother of Moses, and was translated in reward for her services to him to Heaven without dying.

(*To be concluded.*)

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THE OSSUARY OF NICANOR OF ALEXANDRIA.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

It is a fate which has befallen all noteworthy archæological discoveries, from the Moabite Stone downwards, that as soon as they have attracted attention someone is sure to raise the cry of "forgery." This, perhaps, is not altogether a disadvantage, as it leads to a re-examination of the evidence on which the authenticity of the monument rests. In the case of the Nicanor ossuary the inevitable blow has fallen in an article entitled "Un monument douteux," by Lazare Belléli, Docteur en Philologie, published in *Corriere Israelitico*, xliii, No. 9 (Trieste, 1905). A copy of this has just come into my hands, and as one who was acquainted at the time with the circumstances of the discovery, and who has on numerous occasions examined the inscription itself, I may be allowed to offer a reply.

First let me remark that Dr. Belléli is not first in the field. At the time of the discovery, and before anything regarding it was published, I was told by a gentleman in high position in Jerusalem

that he had private information (the source of which he did not see his way to communicate to me) that the inscription was a forgery. I believe that he informed Miss Dickson to the same effect. That my informant told me this in good faith, and with the desire to save me from being taken in, I, of course, make no doubt whatever; but that *his* informant (whoever he may have been) either wilfully or unintentionally misled him, I was then, and am still, convinced. I mention this at the outset to show that the idea of a possible forgery was in my mind, and was (after weighing the evidence) deliberately rejected by me, while I was engaged in doing whatever little work I may have done in assisting to have the monument brought to public notice.

Secondly, let me state the circumstances of the discovery. The tomb is situated in a field that Mr. (now Sir John) Gray Hill had acquired just north of his winter residence on the Mount of Olives. The field was being laid out by Sir John Gray Hill's dragoman (who lives as caretaker of the house and property throughout the year) when the tombs were first discovered and opened. This was early in October, 1902. The dragoman informed Mr. Consul Dickson of the discovery, and Miss Dickson took an early opportunity of visiting the site. On her first visit her attention was entirely taken up by the complicated system of tomb-chambers, and she did not pay special attention to the ossuaries; on or about the 12th November (as I gather from her notes, which she has kindly put at my disposal) she revisited the site expressly to examine these, and then found the inscription. The ossuaries by this time had been placed as ornaments in the garden attached to the house. Three days later I arrived in Jerusalem, having been obliged to suspend the Gezer excavations on account of the cholera epidemic, and on the following day visited and examined the tomb and inscription. The ossuary was, therefore, not discovered more than a month before the inscription was noticed, and the forgery, if forgery there were, must have been executed within that month. The letters ought therefore to have been still perfectly fresh when I first saw the inscription, which they certainly were not.

Thirdly, let us consider the interesting personality of the unknown forger. He is clever enough to deceive Professor Clermont-Ganneau, a scholar who, if he had done nothing else in his life, would still have earned a permanent reputation by his brilliant exposure of Jerusalem frauds. He is also a man of original mind.

As a rule, Jerusalem forgers content themselves with meaningless gibberish in badly-made Old-Hebrew letters, or with more or less inaccurate copies of standard inscriptions. When they strike out into independent lines they choose some well-known Biblical characters to play with, such as David or Isaiah, whose names appeal to the public. Our "forger," however, is not only capable of writing grammatical, if uncouth, Greek, in the proper script of the period, but he adopts as his hero an individual known to scholars only. Personally, I cannot quite appreciate the psychological condition of a forger knowing enough to write of Nicanor of Alexandria who yet alludes to him so obscurely that the inscription passed through the hands of several distinguished scholars before he was identified. A forger would surely have said *what* gates Nicanor had made; a contemporary of Nicanor would not have considered it necessary. And as no one profited by the forgery—and it is not easy to see how, under the circumstances, anyone could profit by it—it is reasonable to ask, *cui bono?* If the inscription be a forgery, there is only one possible theory of its origin: that someone belonging to the household of the property where it was found was astute enough to engage and pay an unknown person with sufficient scholarship to design and cut the inscription (there are few in Jerusalem both capable and willing to undertake such a task, and these certainly would not do it for nothing) in order to increase the saleable value of the ossuary; and at the same time so incredibly foolish as to leave it about where it might be discovered at any moment and so brought to Sir John Gray Hill's notice. Such a hypothesis is obviously absurd. Had the tomb been in public ground and open to all comers, it might be supposed that a silly practical joke had been perpetrated, but as the ossuary was in private property, and no one could obtain access to it without the knowledge of Sir John Gray Hill's caretaker, this theory is also ruled out.

Fourthly, let us see on what grounds Dr. Belléli attacks the inscription. First of all, he is vexed that its Greek is not up to the standard of Classical Attic Greek, or even of that of Josephus. Of course, the Greek is queer, as any intelligent fifth-form schoolboy could see; but I venture to claim that this is no reason for impugning the authenticity of the legend. When we find one of the Wady er-Rabâbi inscriptions commencing **ΜΝΗΜΑ ΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΤΗΝ**, and that, not a graffito to be scratched and

hidden away, but a formal public inscription placed over the door for everyone to read, we may be prepared for anything in Palestinian Greek epigraphy. Had I had a *Corpus* of Palestinian inscriptions at hand, I have no doubt I could find many far worse departures from "*les convenances du style*" than the trifling peccadilloes (the sequence of *τῶν τοῦ* in line 1 and the omission of the article before *Ἀλεξανδρέως* and *ποιήσαντος*) to which Dr. Belléli seems to attach grave importance. The first of these is got rid of by my reading *ὀστατῶν*, "ossuary" (*see Quarterly Statement*, April, 1903, p. 131).

Next, Dr. Belléli attacks the word אלכסא as impossible. Professor Clermont-Ganneau (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1903, p. 128) notes it as perhaps "a popular abbreviation" for the more normal אלכסנדרי. I am inclined to think it merely an abbreviation that the engraver himself has happened to improvise on the ossuary. I have pointed out already (*loc. cit.*) that the writing shows marks of a growing haste and carelessness almost from the first. Weariness, hurry, laziness, interruption, apoplexy—there are fifty possible reasons why the scribe may have left off in the middle of the last word, which he evidently erroneously conceived of as אלכסאנדרי, as might well be, seeing that a foreign proper name, and not a native word, is in question.

Thirdly, Dr. Belléli takes up the palæography of the inscription. His points are altogether unimportant, and no one accustomed to ossuary inscriptions would be troubled by them. He claims, for instance, to discover four different sorts of Σ in the Greek "which nothing can justify," and is disturbed by a right-angled ר in the Hebrew. There are only two kinds of Σ: the second letter of *ὀστατῶν*, which is of the monumental C form, and all the others, which are of a more cursive type (Ϲ). This is merely one example of the general change of character which the whole writing displays as the inscription proceeds. The contemporary inscriptions from Tell Sandaḥannah and Gezer show analogous differences in the formation of various characters. The diphthong in *Νεικάνορος* is exactly parallel to *νείκη* for *νίκη* on the Eunêlos altar from Gezer. The angled ר is a natural result of scratching rather carelessly with a metal point, as anyone who tries to form curved lines in this manner will understand. There are parallels (*e.g.*, the boundary inscriptions of Gezer) to the mixing up of medial and final forms of the Hebrew letters in inscriptions of this period.

Last, Dr. Belléli considers the ornament on the ossuary too commonplace for so distinguished a man as Nicanor. If he had seen as many ossuaries as I have he would have realised that the ornamentation on these receptacles, though displaying many varieties, is almost always commonplace. It is a little unfortunate for his argument that of the only two ossuaries I have seen showing evidence of genuine artistic taste and originality, as well as an eye for symmetry and a trained and skilful hand, one (now in the possession of St. Anne's Monastery at Jerusalem) should come from Sha'fât, and the other (decorated with acanthus leaves) from this very tomb of Nicanor. It will be found illustrated in a paper by Miss Dickson, published in the *Reliquary* for July, 1904. And apart from this, the argument is counterbalanced by the costliness and elaboration of the tomb itself, of which a glance at the plans illustrating Miss Dickson's paper (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1903, 328, 329) will be sufficient to convince the most prejudiced. No doubt it was originally covered by a mausoleum, which would add to its magnificence.

The position of the tomb ought to be noticed. It is so situated on the summit of the Mount of Olives that the ceremonies of interment would take place in full view of the famous gates whereby the name of the family had been immortalised. This can scarcely be an accident.

On these grounds I feel that no special importance need be attached to this attempt to discredit an important discovery, the lady to whom it is due, or the distinguished scholar to whom we owe its full elucidation. [1]

[1] [Mr. Macalister's full reply should settle finally any lingering doubts that may be felt regarding the authenticity of this "monument douteux." It is unfortunate that Dr. Belléli should attack the word אלכסא, which is a well-known Jewish name (*see* Dr. H. P. Chajes, *Beiträge zur nordsemitischen Onomatologie*, Vienna, 1900, p. 9). As for the Hebrew palæography, the forms of the letters do not differ at all essentially from those found on Jewish ossuaries and other remains of about the same period, as a glance at Euting's table will show.—Ed.]

COFFEE LORE.

By the Rev. J. E. Hanauer.

It has struck me that a few notes on "Coffee-lore," supplementary to what my friend Mr. Baldensperger has already furnished on pages 121–122 of the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1905, may possibly be acceptable. If in some points my notes do not agree with his, I would not wish it to be thought that I desire in any way to contradict what he has said, but simply to call notice to other popular statements on the same subject, and also to a couple of coffee-stories.

What my friend says about the libation to Sheikh esh-Shâdhilly, I can myself testify to. Some years ago I called the attention of the late Professor S. Ives Curtiss to this libation at the time he was here collecting materials for his work on *Semitic Religion To-day*.

The origin of coffee-drinking is connected with legendary tales. The shrub on which the coffee-berry grows is said to be indigenous in Abyssinia, and the story runs that the virtues of the plant were discovered by accident. Fleeing from persecution, towards the end of the third century, a party of monks from Egypt found refuge in the Abyssinan highlands, where they settled and supported themselves by agriculture and the care of flocks, which were entrusted in turn to the pastoral care of different brethren. One of these came to the Prior (names not ascertained) one night with the strange tale that the sheep and goats would not go to rest in their fold, but were frisking and lively to such a degree that he feared that they had been bewitched. This state of things continued, in spite of prayers and exorcisms, for several days, till at last the worthy Prior resolved to take charge of the animals himself. Leading them out to pasture, he carefully noticed the plants they browsed on, and thus discovered that their sleeplessness resulted from their feeding on the leaves of a certain shrub. Experimenting on himself by chewing the buds, &c., of this plant, he found that he was easily able to keep awake during the long night services which his form of religion prescribed; and thus the use of coffee was discovered. It was not at first used as a beverage, but eaten in form of a paste, something like chocolate. It was probably introduced into Arabia (not in the fifteenth century, but in pre-Islamic

times, probably not later than the time of the famous crusade undertaken by Elesbaan, or Caleb Negus, the Nagash of Arab authors) in order to punish the Himyaritic Jewish ruler, Yusif Yarush, surnamed Dhu Nowas, who had been persecuting the Christians.[1] When the use of wine was prohibited, its place was taken by a decoction of coffee-berries. The name "coffee" is derived from the Arabic قهوة Kahweh (pronounced *Kahveh* by the Turks), and, in its primary sense, denoted wine or other intoxicating liquors.[2] "The city of Aden," says Crichton, "is the first on record that set the example of drinking it as a common refreshment, about the middle of the fifteenth century." (Possibly it is this to which Mr. Baldensperger refers.) "A drowsy mufti, called Jamaleddin, had discovered that it disposed him to keep awake, as well as to a more lively exercise of his spiritual duties." This is clearly a version of the story of the Abyssinian monks above given. Jamaleddin, according to Crichton, died A.D. 1470, "and such was the reputation which his experience had given to the virtues of coffee, that in a short time it was introduced by Fakreddin at Mecca and Medina." It seems, however, that it was not till the beginning of the sixteenth century that it was introduced to Cairo. The innovation, however, caused a bitter theological controversy amongst the Mohammedans. In 1511, it was publicly condemned at Mecca by a conclave of the *ulema*, who declared its use contrary to Islam and hurtful both to body and soul. This decision of the learned was echoed at Cairo. All the warehouses where the "seditious berry" (بن *bunn*) was stored, were purposely burnt down, the coffee-houses closed, and their keepers pelted with the sherds of their broken pots and cups. This was in 1524, but by an order of Selim I, the decrees of the learned were reversed, the disturbances in Egypt quieted, the drinking of coffee declared perfectly orthodox; and when two Persian doctors, who had declared it to be injurious to health, had been hanged by the Sultan's orders, the coffee-cup began its undisturbed reign. It now rules supreme in the East. If you want anyone, to whom it would be an insult to offer bakshish, to do you a favour, you find that "a cup of coffee" renders him gracious, and open to persuasion; and in the same way,

[1] Andrew Crichton, *History of Arabia*, vol. I, pp 123-125.
[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 428, *sqq.*

if you want to get rid of an enemy, all you have to do is to give him "a cup of coffee." It depends, of course, on what you mix with it. This double usefulness of "a cup of coffee" is proverbial.

Who the mysterious Sheikh esh-Shâdhilly is, I cannot tell; all that I have been able to find out, during several years of enquiry, is that he is the patron of coffee-drinkers. Mr. Baldensperger is right in describing coffee-drinking as almost a religious act. Wherever a party of coffee-drinkers assemble, there the spirit of esh-Shâdhilly is present in order to keep them from harm. In proof of this the following story is told:—

A large number of people were assembled in a village guest-house. Coffee was being prepared for them. Beside the fire stood a very large stock-pot, out of which the person who made the coffee replenished a smaller pot in which he boiled the liquor after adding fresh coffee-meal, or *bunn*. He then filled a cup, after the libation to Sheikh esh-Shâdhilly, and handed it to the man nearest him, who out of politeness handed to the man next him, who in his turn gave it to the next, and so on, till it had passed all round the company untasted. The coffee-maker was much surprised when the cup was returned to him untouched. Somebody suggested that esh-Shâdhilly must have had some hand in the matter, and had purposely prevented those present from tasting the coffee. Hereupon the coffee-pots were emptied out, when, to the horror of all beholders, the dead body of a venomous serpent (some say of a toad) fell out of the stock-pot. How it got in nobody ever knew, but it was at any rate certain that Sheikh esh-Shâdhilly had protected his votaries.

What Mr. Baldensperger says about the third cup (p. 122) is illustrated by the following story:—During a famine in the early years of last century a Bedouin sheikh left his encampment somewhere in the Gaza district and went down to Egypt with some of his men and camels in order to buy corn. Night came on some time after he had crossed the frontier, and some time after midnight a light was seen twinkling at some distance through the darkness. The sheikh, who had never before visited that part of the country, rightly thought that the light came from some village; therefore he left his men and camels where they were and went to reconnoitre. He found that the light came from a certain house, the door of which was ajar. As he smelt roasting coffee-berries, he concluded that the place was a guest-house, and boldly entered. He was

however, mistaken. The only persons in the lighted chamber were an unveiled woman and a Memlûk, her husband. The woman screamed and veiled her face when she saw the intruder, but her husband, telling her not to be alarmed, asked the new-comer what he wanted. He said that he had thought the place was a guest-house, but as he had been mistaken he would go away again. The Memlûk, however, told him to stay, and gave him a cup of coffee. When he had drunk this his host offered him a second cup, which he accepted. A third cup he, however, declined, although pressed to take it. Finding his solicitations useless, the Memlûk drew his sword and threatened to kill the Bedouin unless he took the third cup. The man still refused, saying that he preferred being killed. "Why?" asked his grim host. "Because," answered the sheikh, quoting the saying which Mr. Baldensperger has given (p. 122), "the first (cup) is for the guest, the second for enjoyment, and the third for the sword. Though, indeed, I am a warrior, even as thou art, yet at present I am unarmed, seeing that I am here on business connected with peace and not with strife." "Well," answered the Memlûk, sheathing his weapon, "thy answer shows thee to be a true man. I took thee to be a skulking thief, but I see that I was mistaken. Remain under my roof as my guest." The sheikh accepted the invitation, and when he told his host the purpose of his visit to Egypt, the latter, who had a great deal of corn to sell, transacted business with him, and for several years in succession supplied him and his tribe with grain. In the year 1811, however, the massacre of the Memlûks, by the orders of Mohammad Ali, took place, and it so happened that the only person to escape was the one who figures in this story. He, it is said, managed to make his way to the tents of his Bedouin friend and was protected by him till the time came when he could return home without fear. Tourists visiting the citadel at Cairo are, indeed, shown the place where, according to legend, Emin Bey made his horse leap from the battlements; but many of the native Cairenes assert that he was not there at all, having received warning of the Pasha's plot through someone connected with the harem. What the truth is Allah knows!

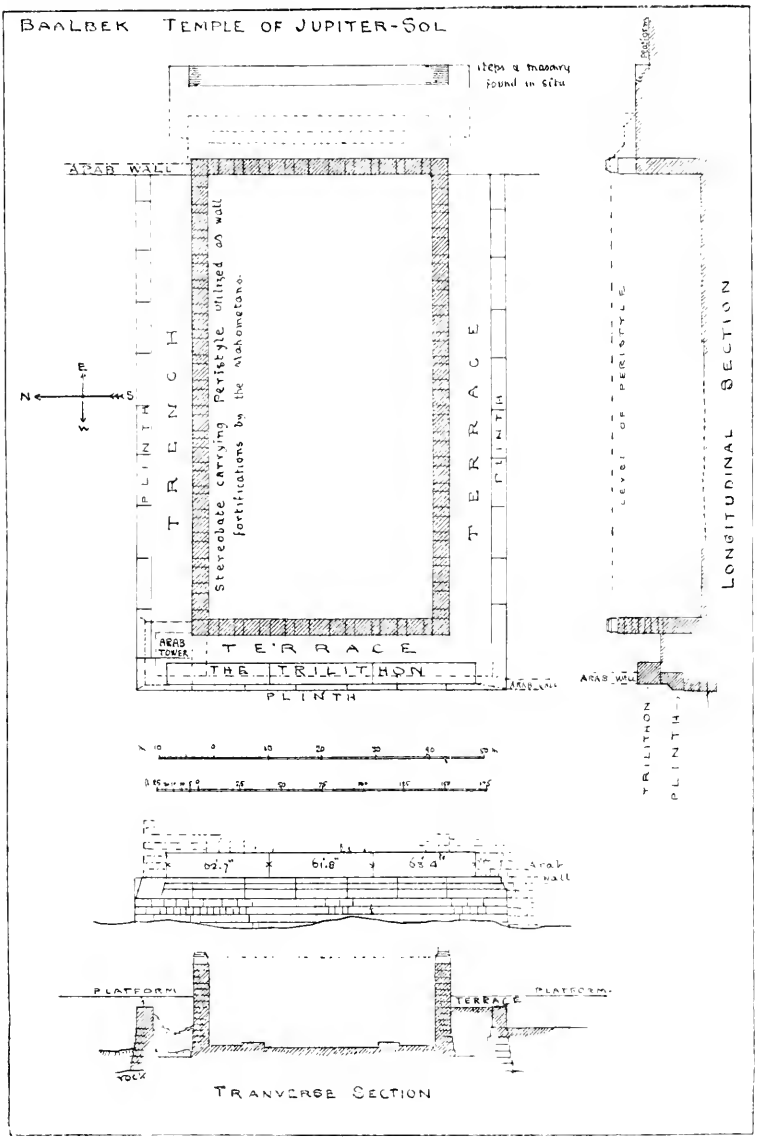
THE TRILITHON AND GREAT TEMPLE AT BAALBEK.

THERE appeared in *The Builder* of February 11th a careful and well-illustrated article by Mr. Phené Spiers on the "Trilithon" at Baalbek. The paper is an earnest and thoughtful attempt to throw some light on the original relation between the great Temple of the Sun and the three enormous stones which form so striking a feature in the western wall of the enclosure within which yet stand the remains of two great temples. The more important of these, and of which but six columns with the superimposed entablature now remain standing, is that which, with its great forecourt and entrance, occupies the greater part of this area, and is the one which alone could have any relation to the "Trilithon."

It is this great Temple of the Sun, therefore, with which the article is concerned. The author begins by alluding to the singular absence of any contemporaneous accounts of such remarkable and magnificent works, or indeed of any of the many great Roman works of the same epoch in Syria; the only Roman documents relating to this great Temple being representations of it on the reverse of several coins of the second and third centuries (Septimius Severus, Caracalla and others, the latest, Valerian). The evidence afforded by these coins is dealt with later. The earliest written record is stated by Wood and Dawkins in their great monograph (1757) to be that of John (Malala) of Antioch (525–600), who says that "Ælius Antoninus Pius built a great temple at Heliopolis, near Libanus, in Phœnicia, which was one of the wonders of the world." The fact is corroborated by inscriptions on the pedestals of the propylæa.

There seems little doubt that the stupendous scheme was planned and the work begun in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161 A.D.), and to this period must be assigned the vast substructure which includes the Trilithon. Mr. Spiers considers that the representations on the coins go to suggest that the works were carried on under the emperors of these coins; but he agrees with Wood and Dawkins that the original scheme was never completed, and points out that there was a gap of at least 32 years between the death of Antoninus, 161 A.D., and the accession of Septimius Severus, 193 A.D. He makes the suggestion that during

Palestine Exploration Fund.



this interval a suspension of the work occurred, and that when again taken up it was with some modification of plan. He thinks that the design on a coin of Septimius Severus indicates a change which had taken place; for whereas it had been intended to continue the megalithic course, as the die of a gigantic podium, on the three sides (north, west and south), from the vast platform of which the great temple was to rise, the intention had already been abandoned, leaving the Trilithon, which formed the western side, the only part of the megalithic die completed, the crowning course or "cymatium" nowhere begun.

The immense block, some 70 feet long, which had been quarried but still remains at the quarry, was to have been the corner-stone of the return, perhaps on the north side; and Mr. Spiers suggests that the difficulty of moving this huge mass may have been one reason for the change of plan. Its weight probably exceeds 1,000 tons.

The plan actually followed would appear to have been to utilise the great plinth on which the megalithic course was to have rested, and to form a terrace at that level, and therefore level with the bottom of the Trilithon, probably 17 feet or 18 feet lower than would have been the platform of the great podium had it been carried out.

The German excavations have laid bare the plinth on the south side, and revealed the paved terrace between it and the stereobate wall of the peristyle. The plinth of the north side has always been exposed, and traces of a similar terrace have now been found embedded in the later defensive west wall; but a trench has long existed between this plinth and the north stereobate wall. That the builders had not continued the great podium on this side, above the plinth line, seems clear from the fact that the bevelled set-off which forms the base-mould on the west side has never been worked on the north.

To come now to the evidence of the coins, Mr. Spiers points to one of Septimius Severus, on the reverse of which an isometrical view of the Temple (decastyle) from the south-east is given. (Fig. 1). In this the peristyle is shown resting on an ordinary podium, with a flight of steps between the spur walls at the east end. Parallel with this podium and in front of it is a raised band, which does not occur in the representation of any other temple; and as the same feature occurs in all the later coins, Mr. Spiers

thinks it indicates the terrace lately discovered by the Germans. In view of the extreme "conciseness" required by any such representation on a coin, this surmise seems reasonable; and, if it be correct, the later example given, a coin of Philip the Elder (244–249) (Fig. 2), would appear confirmatory as showing the same feature on the north side.

It is a little difficult to account for the great flight of steps shown in this representation, unless it be intended to convey the idea that the Temple is raised high above the ground level; but the particular feature supposed to indicate the terrace is as clearly shown as in the other coin.

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

Mr. Spiers follows minutely other evidences afforded by the German excavations eastward of the Temple, which, in this summary, it is not necessary to pursue. Those specially interested will refer to the article. It must be noted that he finds the German-drawn plans not always in accord with their own photographs. It is fortunate for archæology that photography cannot bend to the support of any theory.

J. D. C.

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Histoire de Nazareth et de ses Sanctuaires, by Gaston Le Hardy, Paris, 1905.—In this volume M. Le Hardy has collected all the references to Nazareth and its "holy places" in records of pilgrimages from the first century to modern times. He has devoted special attention to the several traditions, and, as a rule, leaves his evidence to speak for itself. The celebrated legend of the Santa Casa of Loretto is treated from the point of view of a Nazarene The general history of Palestine is given in so far as it is necessary to explain the references to Nazareth. During the second and third centuries Nazareth was occupied only by Jews; but between 326 and 336 A.D. two churches appear to have been built—one at the traditional scene of the Annunciation, the other at the supposed house of Joseph. The collection of extracts is useful, and the traditions are fairly discussed, but the history of Nazareth during last century is written more from a Latin than from a general point of view. Little is said of the Greek and Protestant establishments in the town and its outskirts during the last 50 years.

Questions Mycéniennes, by René Dussaud, from the "Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions," 1905.—This paper contains a chapter on the Ægean origin of the Philistines, and Mykænean influence in Syria. The author considers that the origin of the Philistines is undetermined; at present they can only be called Ægean. The religions of Phœnicia and Syria were not, so far as is known, influenced by Mykænean cults. The Ægean tribes settled down amongst the tribes of Southern Palestine, and were absorbed by them.

Revue Biblique, 1905, No. 2.—The publication of the report on *'Abdeh* by Fathers Jaussen, Savignac, and Vincent is continued. Section 5 contains an interesting description of the "high place" which was perhaps connected with the worship of the morning star. On the top of the hill the rocky crest has been cut away to a point to which a circular esplanade some 32 mètres in diameter is attached. In the centre is a circular hollow, 9 mètres diameter and about 2 mètres deep, the sides of which are partly rock-hewn and partly constructed of stones and débris. From this hollow radiate ramps, about 12 mètres long, of similar construction, and of these four on the west side are perfect. At the south-west corner, beneath the esplanade, there is a rock-hewn chamber, and traces of another were found at the north-west corner. Everything is symmetrical, and the intention appears to have been to represent a large star with nine rays. The principal approach was from the east by a large trench which opens into the central cavity. In connection with the "high place," there were Nabatæan *graffiti* containing the names of

'Obodas, Dushara, and 'Amru, and several foot-prints cut on the rock. The hill, commanding as it does one of the great trade routes from Arabia to the west, must have become the seat of a strong castle and important town at a very early date. It was possibly a rallying point for the desert tribes, and a treasure city of the Nabataeans. After the death of 'Obodas II, about 9 A.D., the deified monarch was buried in the mountain, possibly because it was already a sacred place. The town lost its importance when the trade route took another direction. Under the heading "Epigraphic Notes," 36 Christian epitaphs from Beersheba, Khalaṣah, Ṣebaiṭa, &c., are given. One is that of a Dr. Abraham, who died May 8th, 564.

There are also papers on the text of 1 Kings vii, 6, by Father Vincent, and on the inscriptions on two Palmyrene busts by Father Lagrange.

Echos d'Orient, March, 1905, contains papers on "The Palace of Caiaphas according to Tradition," by G. Jacquemier, and on "The Monasteries and Churches of St. Stephen at Jerusalem," by S. Vailhé.

Homiletic Review, vol. xlviii, pp. 420–426.—In an article on "A Visit to the English Excavations at ancient Gezer,' Professor Paton, Ph.D., late director of the American School of Oriental Research in Palestine, gives a very appreciative account of Mr. Macalister's work for the Fund at Gezer. After describing the results that have been obtained, and pointing out the manner in which they illustrate the Bible, he writes that "no other exploration in Palestine has been so successful as this, and it is greatly to be hoped that the Fund will not stop until the mound is completely investigated."

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Pal.-Vereins, vol. xxviii, parts 2 and 3.—Herr Oehler concludes his useful study of the boundaries and places of Galilee according to Josephus, and gives notes on the roads of that district, and a table of distances from Josephus. Dr. Blanckenhorn contributes a paper on the geology of the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, illustrated by a plan and sections, which supersedes anything that has hitherto been written on the subject. The whole paper deserves careful study, and supplies a want that has hitherto been much felt. The authority for placing the bed of *Meleke* so far beneath the level of the Ḥaram esh-Sherif is not quite clear. It has hitherto been supposed that the large cisterns in the Ḥaram were excavated in this soft bed and not in the hard *Mizzi*. Professor Dr. Guthe describes Jerusalem as represented on the Madeba Mosaic, and illustrates his paper with a copy of the Mosaic plan of Jerusalem made by Mr. Palmer in 1901. The plan of the city is a portion of the copy of the whole map made by Mr. Palmer for the German Palestine Society, and about to be published. It is greatly to be regretted that the plan of Jerusalem at least was not copied in facsimile, or photographed in sections on a large scale. Dr. Sandler contributes a valuable medical bibliography for Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus.

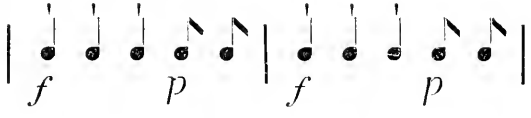
A summary of the reports of Dr. Schumacher on his excavations at Tell el-Mutesellim, published in the *M. and N.* of the D.P.V., will appear in the October *Quarterly Statement.*

Altneuland, 1905. No. 3.—*Die Stadtschule in Palästina*, by Dr. Lœwe; *Die Lepra in Palästina*, by Dr. Sandler; *Jüdische Privatwirtschaftliche Ackerbaukolonien*, by Dr. Pasmanik, No. 4; *Die Cöthener Kurse für Koloniale Technik*, by Dr. Sandler; *Die Verwertung des Getreides in Palästina*, by N. Wilbuschewitch, No. 5; *Abriss der Geologie Syriens II*, by Dr. Blanckenhorn; *Die Jüdischen Wohltätigkeitsanstalten Jerusalems*, by Dr. Grünhut; *Zur Frage der Mühlenindustrie in Palästina*, by N. Wilbuschewitch.

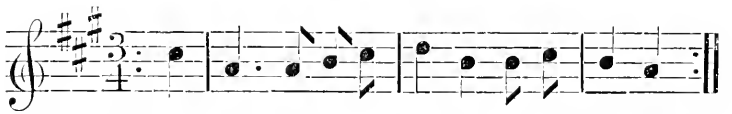
C. W. W.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. To-day (April 19th, 1905) the funeral of a woman of the village of Abû Shûsheh took place. As a general rule, the funeral processions have no special interest, the corpse being borne in a rough bier on the shoulders of the relatives, and followed by the villagers. This particular woman, however, was a female *darwish*, and on account of her holiness the procession was somewhat different. First came two men bearing large red flags embroidered with religious mottoes; then followed two drummers (one of them a *sharîf* or descendant of the Prophet, as indicated by his green turban) beating with the following rhythm—



—then came two cymbal-players striking their instruments with less regularity. The body followed, borne by eight men, four on each side; after which came a crowd of women singing to the following tune (one of the comparatively rare tunes in triple time)—



—interrupted, of course, at intervals by the inevitable *zagharît* or trilled scream, which expresses a wide range of emotions.

The specially interesting detail of the procession was a bit of acting on the part of the bearers, who made as though the deceased, under the influence of her guardian *wely*, was unwilling to enter the cemetery. I can best describe the by-play by likening the bier, with its bearers, to a timid animal who attempts to follow a certain path, but is continually being driven off it. They would advance a few paces and then stop with a start—the *ensemble* was as perfect as though it had been rehearsed—fall back a step or two, and, perhaps, turn aside out of the road as though to get round some unseen obstacle. By slow degrees and with many zigzags they succeeded in reaching the entrance of the cemetery (I will not emphasise the fact that they did not approach the ordinary entrance, as that is at present overgrown with sharp thorns, not inviting to ill-shod people); but instead of entering, they turned and carried the body almost the whole way back to the village, and the same ceremony began again from the beginning. At last, when they had nearly reached the cemetery the second time, the village Imâm said in a loud voice: "*Now* she wills to advance, and may God make the way smooth before her" (*hal ḥên bitrûd timruḳ w' Allah yisahhal 'alaiha*) after which the procession advanced without further interruption—except for a final recoil—just at the moment of entering the graveyard. I do not know if this very peculiar funeral custom has been described already from Palestine:[1] there have been a good many funerals at Abû Shûsheh during the three years I have been here, and I have not before seen anything analogous.

R. A. S. Macalister.

2. *The Constantinople Museum.*—I had not been at Constantinople for a good many years, and on revisiting it this spring I was filled with amazement at the Museum which now exists there. It is one of the finest and best in the world, whether we regard its size and structure, its contents, or their scientific arrangement. And I found that the enlightened liberality of H. E. Hamdi Bey, to whom the Museum owes its creation and organisation, was in keeping with its character. Indeed, my reception contrasted very favourably with that accorded to scholars in some Museums nearer home: everything was thrown open to me, and I was told that if I wished

[1] Mr. Dickson has called my attention to a description, in Lane's *Modern Egyptians*, of similar observances at the funeral of a distinguished sheikh in Cairo.

to make photographs, squeezes, or even casts of the monuments, I was at liberty to do so. In fact, nothing could exceed the courtesy and kindness which I received from Hamdi Bey.

Naturally it was the Hittite monuments to which I directed my attention. The Hittite Salle is a revelation; there, and there only, can Hittite art be properly studied. I have brought back with me copies of unpublished inscriptions, as well as of published texts the originals of which are at Constantinople. In many cases I have been able to correct the readings derived from photographs, squeezes, and casts, and have realised to a greater extent than ever before how misleading even a cast can sometimes be.

The Palestinian and Syrian pottery needs to be specially studied. Some of it comes from Kadesh, the Hittite capital; other portions of the collection are from our own excavations in Southern Palestine, while there is a good deal from Taanach. The Kadesh pottery is distinctively Palestinian, as might have been expected. Amongst it I noticed a Cypriote vase. In the Taanach collection there are specimens of Late-Mykenæan ware, which seems to have been overlooked by Dr. Sellin, and similar fragments occur among the remains from Gezer. It would be very desirable if one of the young members of the British School at Athens, who has studied Ægean ceramics, would make a trip to Constantinople and examine the Palestinian pottery that is preserved there.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

3. *Why did Rachel steal the Teraphim of Laban?*—The only answer to this question I have seen is that of Ewald, quoted with approval by Dr. Driver, the latest commentator on Genesis: that she "hoped to carry with her into Canaan the good fortune of her maternal home." In such a case, however, it is probable that the two sisters would be concerned together in the theft. It seems to me more likely that the reason was more personal, concerning Rachel alone. If we may judge from specimens unearthed in considerable numbers at Gezer, the *teraphim* were small human figures in which the parental functions were strongly emphasised, and it is probable that Rachel would look on such figures as powerful prophylactics or amulets for herself in the trial before her. Her statement as to her condition (Gen. xxxi, 34) was in all probability no mere excuse, but perfectly true: it was a fact probably well

known to her father Laban already, and in any case, if the truth were not apparent, it is unlikely that an Oriental, angry and suspicious as he was at the moment, would have been so easily taken in. Rachel may well have dreaded the long camel-ride before her, and have wished for the protection of the domestic *penates*. Jacob's special care of Rachel (Ch. xxxiii, 2), his excuse to Esau (Ch. xxxiii, 13), and the birth of Benjamin and death of Rachel not long afterwards (Ch. xxxv), all point to the same conclusion. This explanation, may I add, is an argument in favour of the historicity of the incident, or at the least, of the extreme antiquity of the tradition. The reason for Rachel's action has been forgotten, and the incident, to the author, is comparatively meaningless; although he has unconsciously preserved, by reporting Rachel's speech to her father, the clue to its interpretation. In a late tradition or a conscious literary fiction the explanation of Rachel's conduct would have been fully stated from the first.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

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4. *The Inscribed Lamp from St. George's College.*—In *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1905, p. 150, Mr. Macalister speaks of a lamp recently found at Jerusalem having upon it the "meaningless symmetrical arrangement ∝NO.OИ⋈." It may be well to suggest that the lamp figured by him in *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1904 ("the singularly blundered copy of the common formula"), seems to have these letters, if instead of O we read ⦶ or ⊙. Looking back again to the lamp inscriptions, copied without attempting to read them by Mr. Robinson Lees (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1892, p. 40), one may see the same forms, showing that the St. George lamp is only another variation of the common formula ΦѠC XY ΦЄN ΠACIN.[1]

PROF. T. F. WRIGHT.

[1] [M. F. Sophronius Petrides of the Augustinians of the Assumption, writing with reference to the note in the April *Quarterly Statement*, p. 164, observes that the words "the light of Christ shines in all," have no connection with the Holy Fire festival, but are taken from the Byzantine Liturgy of the Presanctified (Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, Rome, 1873, p. 119). ΚΑΛΗ, too, must qualify some word like ΚΑΝΔΗΛΑ, clearly not φῶς. *See*, further, the note in *Echos d'Orient*, v, p. 47 (1901–2).—ED.]

5. *The New Cuneiform Tablet from Gezer.*[1]—Mr. Macalister is to be congratulated. The discovery of the second broken tablet sets at rest all doubt as to the *provenance* of the first, and encourages us to hope that more will be found. The new tablet belongs to the same period as the other one, and shows that the cuneiform characters were understood and written in Palestine under Assyrian rule in the reign of Assur-bani-pal. The only line of the newly-discovered fragment which is not clear to me is the first line of the Reverse. Otherwise the text offers little difficulty. I read:—

1. Kunuk D.P. Na-tan-ya-u,
The seal *of Nethaniah*,

2. bil eḳli tad-a-ni.
the owner *of the estate* *which has been sold.*

[Three impressions of the seal.]

3. . . . eḳli AM-tu-śi-ni-i.
. . . *the estate* *of Amtu-śini.*

4. . . . . śi-ni-i.
. . . . . [*Amtu-*] *śini.*

Rev. 1*b*. pan D.P. Bu-ukh (?)-bur (?),
witnessed by *Bukhbur* (?),

2*b*. pan D.P. Zera-yukin,
by *Zirakin.*

3*b*. pan D.P. Ugur-sarra-uṣur,
by *Nergal-sharezer.*

4*b*. arkhi AS yum IV-KAM.
The month *Sebat,* *day* *4th,*

5*b*. lim-mu D.P. Akhu-D.P.-Â,
the eponym being *Akhu-Â,*

6*b*. D.P. SA-NAT Gar-ga-mis.
the governor *of Carchemish.*

According to George Smith, the eponymy of Akhu-Â corresponds to B.C. 647. That he was governor of Carchemish is new.

The name of the owner of the estate is, it will be observed, Jewish. A Nethaniah is mentioned in Jer. xl, 8, 14. For the name Nergal-Sharezer, "Nergal, defend the king!" *see* Jer. xxxix, 3.

PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

[1] *See* p. 185.

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THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WITH this number we print the thirteenth and last of the Quarterly Reports of the Excavation of Gezer, which has been carried on by the Fund through Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister. The firman has expired, and the Executive Committee have decided to apply for a new "permit," to come into force next summer, so that Mr. Macalister may take a much-needed holiday in the meantime. It should be remembered that the Palestine Exploration Fund is at a distinct disadvantage when compared with its more fortunate co-workers which enjoy a government subsidy or generous private support. The expense of excavating Gezer has been exceptionally heavy, but the results have been proportionately rich, and it has been the aim of the Committee throughout to set before the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* as full an account as possible of the work which has been done. Intelligent opinion has everywhere appreciated the great value of the excavations, and has acknowledged the thoroughness and scientific ability with which Mr. Macalister has accomplished his task. One has only to read the account of the Annual Meeting (pp. 282–308 below) to gain some idea of the present work of the Fund, and the Committee would impress upon subscribers and their friends the necessity of redoubled efforts to increase the funds.

The special donations during the quarter to the expenses of the Excavation of Gezer comprise:—Charles H. Goschen, Esq., £10 10*s.*; Sir John Gray Hill, £5 5*s.*; E. B. Morphew, Esq., £5 5*s.*: George Mathieson, Esq., £5; Executors of the late Miss Nessie Brown, £5; smaller amounts, £5 15*s.* 6*d.*; bringing the total up to £1,098 18*s.* 3*d.*

As already mentioned, it is not proposed to attack a new site next year; Gezer has not yet yielded all its harvest, and it is

highly desirable that our efforts should not cease until more of this rich site has been laid bare. The "surprises" of the last quarter are discussed at length by Mr. Macalister in his Report. It is singular that for the *first* time he has come to unmistakable traces of foreign—perhaps Philistine influence; the question is *sub judice*—only renewed excavation can solve the question. Is it worth while to try and recover the secrets of the past? If the Bible is anything to us, surely we should welcome everything that throws light upon it. Discoveries, remarkable and unexpected, have been made at Gezer, but it is only now that Philistine influence has apparently been traced. Like the fragments of Assyrian tablets, the "find" is an earnest of what may be expected, and it rests with those who are sincerely interested in the land where the books of the Bible took their birth, to furnish the necessary financial help that the history of Gezer may be unfolded to us in all its entirety.

Readers of the *Quarterly* will have noticed that our Chairman of Committee, Sir Charles Wilson, was prevented by illness from being present at the Annual General Meeting in July. His illness proved to be so serious that he is only now convalescent; but all who value the work of the Fund, which he has so ably guided for so many years, will rejoice to know that he is now progressing satisfactorily towards recovery, and is again able to take interest in the work, and by correspondence to assist the Committee with his wide knowledge and experience.

Subscribers are warned against purchasing from dealers, whether in this country or in Palestine, any antiquities as coming from particular sites which have been excavated by the Fund. All antiquities found in those sites by the officers of the Fund are scrupulously handed over to the Turkish Government, and any found by the illicit digging of natives are, when sold by them to dealers, invariably attributed to sites other than those from which they really come, lest the diggers be discovered and punished.

Professor Petrie writes to point out that the Egyptian scarab of the charioteer figured in *Quarterly Statement*, July, p. 189, No. 13, is of Rameses II, a well-known type; and that the conical seal bearing a winged horse (p. 191, No. 11) is a usual Naukratite type, probably of the sixth or fifth century B.C.

A tomb containing ossuaries with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions was recently found on land belonging to the German-Syrian Orphanage. The tomb is situated about 1,000 yards north-west of the buildings on the plantation now called Abraham's Vineyard, and belonging to the Society for the Relief of Persecuted Jews. From the report in the *Bote aus Zion* for May, and from the photographs which are sold for the benefit of the Orphanage, it appears that the inscriptions, which are in Greek and Hebrew, name Papias and Salome, Ammia and Hanin, all of Scythopolis. The Hebrew, however, gives the old name of the place, Besân (בשן), and omits Salome.

Some 15 or 16 years ago, the Franciscans, whilst removing the earth and ruins on their property just south of the chapel of the Flagellation and adjoining that of the Sisters of Zion, found the apse of an ancient chapel, the floor of which was apparently an extension northwards of the same old pavement to be seen under the Sisters' building. The chapel has now been rebuilt, and a small convent has been erected in connection with it. Dr. Schick reported upon the discoveries at the time (*Quarterly Statement*, 1889, pp. 172 *sqq.*), and the Rev. J. E. Hanauer sends photographs illustrating two curious limestone pedestals, a circular font found in the ruins, the ancient floor, and an artificially dressed rock-platform just outside the northern end of the new chapel. He sends also further details of the 'Awairiyeh (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1892, pp. 115 *sqq.*; 1901, p. 397), to which we hope to return in another number.

Our esteemed correspondent also writes that the old ruins situated in the *Via Dolorosa*, between the Ecce Homo Chapel and the Austrian Hospice, are being pulled down in order that the Greeks, to whom they belong, may erect new buildings. Two shafts were sunk on the line of the street wall to find rock for foundations. The first was eight paces south of the chapel (south-east corner), and the other ten paces further south. In both the massive old pavement, apparently the same as that under the Sisters of Zion Convent, was struck at a depth of 8 to 9 feet below the surface. In the more northerly shaft it is said that rock was first struck at 13 feet, but it suddenly sunk to a depth of 38 feet in the same shaft; whilst in the other it was about 42 feet below the

surface. The rock-scarp seen in the Ecce Homo Chapel is visible here and there at the back of the ruins, and stretches away towards the Austrian Hospice. Two Corinthian pillars have been found; on the circular lower part of one was the inscription IVIOS cut in large letters.

It appears from *Home Words* that Jerusalem and district has been suffering severely from a bad epidemic of scarlet fever, one of the worst of its kind. The mortality amongst the children, especially the Jewish, was very heavy. Unfortunately, the ordinary diseases common to the country, malarial fever, &c., were as numerous as ever. The epidemic was of a specially malignant type, and constantly assumed most virulent symptoms, sometimes causing death within 48 hours. A hopeful sign was the extreme willingness of all the people to carry out "scientific" instructions with regard to isolation, sanitation, and disinfection. This is especially encouraging, when it is remembered that the Medical Mission labours among a people who have yielded a "stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors than to the evidence of their own senses."

At the sitting of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, June 30th, M. Heuzey reported the discovery of certain antiquities made in the region of Acre and Mount Carmel. One was of a stone door from a sepulchral chamber, which was covered by a geometrical decoration not unlike that found upon Jewish ossuaries. Among the ornamentations was a candlestick with *nine* branches, which has been found in the Jaulân, and can scarcely be due (as was here suggested) to a mistake on the part of the sculptor. Further, a lintel of a sepulchral grotto, possibly of the Byzantine period, was found, bearing the name of Namôsas, son of Mandêmos.

The Committee desire to call attention again to the latest publication of the Fund, *The Painted Tombs of Marissa*, whose contents appeal as much to all lovers of art as to the archæologist (*see* July, p. 178). The *Athenæum*, in a lengthy review (June 10th), points out that the paintings "are valuable, not only from their historical interest, but also as showing the extremely composite character of later Phœnician art, and as an example of the way in which an

essentially Semitic people picked up the customs, even in such matters as burials, of the different nations among whom they were cast." After a *résumé* of the contents, the review concludes:—"All these should be studied in the volume itself, which proves to be the most interesting and important that the Society, beloved by Walter Besant and other scholars, has issued for some time." Professor Petrie, in the *Manchester Guardian* (June 5th), speaks of the book as "an excellent piece of work of interest to the historian and the zoologist as well as to the antiquary . . . . The plates here published are on the excellent system of photographs, worked over with the hand copies and colouring to complete them. As there are 14 large coloured plates and eight photographs, no one can complain of the price." Observing the similarity of the animals with names written over them to the mosaic of Palestrina near Rome, he suggests that both were copied from one common source—a work of reference; a kind of illustrated edition of Aristotle's Natural History. The writer in the *Yorkshire Post* (July 5th) states that the book is "undoubtedly a very considerable addition to knowledge," and the drawings are so finely reproduced that "the stay-at-home archæologist may now study in his armchair tombs the like of which have never before been seen in Palestine." An American journal, the *World Magazine*, June 11th, gives characteristic reproductions of the plates, pointing out the human interest, as also the scientific value, of the paintings. It is gratifying to find that many other journals (*Christian World*, *Morning Post*, &c., &c.) agree with the preceding in expressing their high opinion of the value of the *Painted Tombs of Marissa*.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but they are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers. Those sent by Mr. Macalister illustrating the excavations at Gezer which are not reproduced in his quarterly report are held over for the final memoir.

The attention of subscribers and others is called to *A Table of the Christian and Mohammedan Eras*, from July 15th, A.D. 622, the date of the Hejira, to A.D. 1900, price by post, 7*d*. Also to the *Meteorological Observations at Jerusalem*, with tables and diagrams by the late

Mr. James Glaisher, F.R.S. Tourists and all desirous of accurate information about the climate of Jerusalem should not fail to send for a copy, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

The attention of subscribers is also called to a work by Sir Charles Warren, entitled "The Ancient Cubit and our Weights and Measures." He brings evidence to show that all weights and measures (except those of the metrical system) are derived from one source—the double-cubit cubed of Babylonia.

The Museum and Library of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Jerusalem are in the Bishop's Buildings, near the Tombs of the Kings, where the use of a room has been kindly permitted by the Rev. Dr. Blyth, Bishop in Jerusalem and the East. The Museum is open daily, except Sundays, and the Honorary Secretary, Dr. D'Erf Wheeler, will give all information necessary.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21*s.*

The income of the Society from June 21st to September 20th, 1905, was—from legacy left by the late Mr. F. D. Mocatta, £100; from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £202 16*s.* 9*d.*; from sales of publications, &c., £94 1*s.* 8*d.*; from Lectures, £2 2*s.* 0*d.*; making in all, £399 0*s.* 5*d.* The expenditure during the same period was £535 12*s.* 3*d.* On September 20th the balance in the bank was £266 6*s.* 7*d.*

The Committee desire gratefully to acknowledge the generous contribution of £50 which Dr. Merrill has been making to the Fund by instalments during the last twelve months.

Subscribers who have not yet paid, will greatly facilitate the Committee's efforts by sending their subscriptions in early, and thus save the expense of sending out reminders, the outgoings on the excavations at Gezer having been a heavy drain on their funds.

Subscribers to the Fund are reminded that, whilst the receipt of every subscription and contribution is promptly acknowledged by the Acting Secretary, they will henceforth be published annually, and not quarterly. A complete List of Subscribers and Subscriptions for 1904 was published with the April number.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

Plaster casts of the fragments of two cuneiform tablets found during the excavations at Gezer can now be had, price 1*s.* 6*d.* each. The text and transliteration will be found in *Quarterly Statements*, July, 1904 and 1905.

Subscribers and others may be reminded that the new Raised Map of Palestine, constructed from the Surveys of the Palestine Exploration Fund by the Acting Secretary, is ready. It is on the scale of $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the inch and measures 3′ 6″ × 2′ 6″. It has already been used with great success by Professors of Old Testament history, and by teachers in Sunday Schools, and may be especially recommended for large classes of students. On view at the office of the Fund; further particulars may be had on application.

In order to make up complete sets of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee will be very glad to receive any back numbers which subscribers do not wish to preserve.

A complete set of the *Quarterly Statements*, 1869–1904, containing the early letters, with an Index, 1869–1892, bound in the Palestine Exploration Fund cases, can be had. Price on application to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Subscribers of one guinea and upwards will please note that they can still obtain a set, consisting of the "Survey of Eastern Palestine" (Colonel Conder); "Archæological Researches in Palestine," in two volumes (Clermont-Ganneau); "Flora and Fauna of Sinai, Petra, and the Wady 'Arabah" (Hart), for £7 7*s.*, but the price has been increased to the

public to £9 9s. The price of single volumes to the public has also been increased. Applications should be made to the Acting Secretary.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38, Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

Photographs of the late Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, (5) of the Hechel in Solomon's Temple, (6) of the Hechel in Herod's Temple, (7) of the Tabernacle, have been received at the office of the Fund. The seven photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Acting Secretary, 38, Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following :—

NEA ΣΙΩΝ, May–June, 1905, a Greek journal devoted to Palestinian subjects.

"Al-Mashrik: Revue Catholique Orientale Bimensuelle." Among the articles may be mentioned "La faune historique ou les animaux disparus du Liban," by P. H. Lammens, S.J.; "Proverbes vulgaires sur les mois et les saisons," by Mag. A. Gemayel; &c.

"Jérusalem," Publication Mensuelle Illustrée, contains "Le Cénacle d'après les témoignages du i^er^ au viiie siècle"; "Le Hiéromoine Russe Barsanuphe (1456 and 1461-62)"; "Le conflit Turko-Arabe"; &c.

"Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," by M. Clermont-Ganneau. Tome VII, Livraisons 1-3.—§ 1. Épigraphie palmyrénienne. § 2. Noms propres phéniciens abrégés. § 3. Le Livre de la Création et de l'Histoire.

J. F. Peters: "The Nippur Library," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1905.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects, *see* end of the Journal, or write to the Secretary.

Whilst desiring to give publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they do not necessarily sanction or adopt them.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses _____

_____

_____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America. Two suffice in Great Britain.*

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Palestine Exploration Fund was held at the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, W., on Friday, July 14th, 1905, at 3 p.m., His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding.

The Chairman.—Mr. Crace has some mention to make of some absentees.

Mr. J. D. Crace (Hon. Secretary).—I am sorry to say that the first of the letters which I have to read of regret for non-attendance is one from Sir Charles Wilson, our Chairman. He is unavoidably prevented by illness from being present, and trusts that this Annual Meeting may be the means of increasing the interest taken in the work of the Fund.

The other letters that I have in my hand from those who regret being unable to attend are from the Rev. Canon Cheyne, D.D., The Precincts, Rochester; the Rev. H. Montagu Butler, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; the Bishop of Winchester; Dr. James Hastings; the Bishop of Oxford; the Right Rev. S. W. Allen, Bishop of Shrewsbury; Bishop Blyth, of Jerusalem; and the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The Chairman.—I have to call on one whom we all want to hear on this as on a great many other subjects, Dr. George Adam Smith.

Dr. George Adam Smith.—Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am honoured with the duty of moving the adoption of the Annual Report and Accounts, and this I formally do. And I have been asked in addition to make some remarks upon the subject of the work of the Fund in general, especially as it has developed during the past year. In the time at my disposal it is possible only to touch upon three or four outstanding points, points that have come up in the course of Mr. Macalister's excavations during the year in Gezer, and perhaps to remark how they have a bearing upon the subject of Israelite archaeology and the history of Israel's religion in general. Eleven years ago, in writing of the progress of research in Palestine, I remarked that the exploration of Western Palestine, in which our

Society has taken so predominant a share, was almost exhausted so far as it referred to the surface, but that there was a great future for it underground. We had then run—so to speak—most of the questions to earth, and it only remained to dig them up. Now this has been the distinctive work of the last decade. The triumphs of archæology in Palestine during the last decade have been principally the triumphs of excavation. Not that wider geographical work of a very important nature has been neglected. In fact, we have had some very remarkable additions made to our knowledge of the geography of Palestine within the last two years. The triangulation of Eastern Palestine, which was so splendidly begun by Colonel Conder a number of years ago and carried over Moab, has been extended to the north by Dr. Schumacher; while during the last year we have seen published Professor Brünnow's map of Moab and the country to the south, in which, with less fulness necessarily, and less detail than either Dr. Schumacher or Colonel Conder, he has carried the triangulation to a good distance southward. And we are all expecting, looking eagerly forward, to the publication of the map of the Viennese professor, Alois Musil, who has spent a large time among the Arab tribes of Moab and Edom, and, I understand, is about to publish complete maps of both of those countries. But still, in spite of all these geographical additions, the distinct feature of the work of the last 10 years has been excavation. And that, of course, is so vast a work, so very vast a work, that we of the Palestine Exploration Society must welcome the presence in it, the taking part in it, of a large number of allies. Last year Sir Charles Wilson reminded us very forcibly at the Annual Meeting that we were no longer alone in Palestine research, but had a great number of friendly competitors. Now, anyone who has revisited Palestine within the last year or two must have been struck with this as one of the most distinctive features of the progress of life there—the large number of societies like our own at work in different parts of the country and in different branches of archæology and geography. There is, first of all, the German Palestine Society, working under Dr. Schumacher, at Megiddo, where recently a series of vaulted tombs about the date 2000 B.C. have been discovered, and where a number of those infant burials, of which Mr. Macalister has discovered so many in Gezer, have also been laid bare. Besides that, an Austrian expedition, furnished by funds from Austria, has been working at Tell

Taanach, as we all know, under Professor Sellin, who, having found seven cuneiform inscriptions, proposes to proceed to Dothan and excavate there. Then we have the German Orient Gesellschaft, working on the synagogues of Galilee; we have the excavations at Baalbec; we have the archæological schools of Germany and America at work in Jerusalem, and doing practical work in them; and then, besides that, we have the very valuable work, principally on the surface of the country and chiefly concerned with inscriptions, of the Dominican and Redemptorist Fathers in Jerusalem. No more valuable work has been done for a long time on the surface in the Holy Land

Now, of course, we, the pioneer Society, welcome all these allies in this vast work of excavation and of further geographical exploration. Their appearance must be a very great stimulus to ourselves. And I do feel that, having come up behind us in this way, and achieving the very fine work that they have achieved within the last few years, they ought to be both a warning and an example to us to go forward with more zeal, more energy, and with more support from the public of Great Britain than we have hitherto enjoyed. (Hear, hear.)

I also feel, my lord, that the very generous gift of the German Emperor to the German Palestine Society of £1,200, ought to be an example to the many rich men in this country, who could easily spare the same amount for work even more important than that to which the German Emperor has devoted his gift. But still, with all these Societies operating in Palestine, I am certain, both as an eye-witness of the work and a reader of the reports, that there is no bigger and no better work being done in Palestine at the present day than is being done by our distinguished representative in Gezer, Mr. Macalister. I wish, as an eye-witness of Mr. Macalister's excavations, to bear most emphatic testimony, such as only an eye-witness can bear, first of all to their very great extent, and then to the admirable methods, both of research and, what is not least important, of managing the workmen. Then take Mr. Macalister's reports. They give proofs of his large and varied archæological equipment, of his undogmatic temper, of his versatility and suggestion, of his cautious and exhaustive reasoning, and of the richness of results to which all his energy and his ability within the last few years have led. This Society has been served by a very remarkable succession of gentlemen in Palestine in years past; but I am

persuaded there has been none who have done better or greater work than Mr. Macalister has done and is doing at the present time in Gezer. Whether we look at the fields of his investigation—and these range from the remains of neolithic man through the Canaanite, Israelite, and Greek periods, with their close connections with Egypt and Assyria—or whether we look at the capacity of the investigator himself, we are justified, I feel, in demanding and expecting from our countrymen a very much larger financial support than they have ever yet been moved to bestow upon us.

And now may I call your attention to three or four of the large prospects opened up by the Gezer work beyond Gezer itself, and the duties which it has consequently placed upon the members of this Society? First of all, in the summer of last year, the earlier part of the annual work now under our review, Mr. Macalister opened up a very remarkable series of tombs—Canaanite, late Semitic, Maccabæan, and Christian. Through this series his explorations have exhibited a definite and significant progress of religious customs in connection with burial. As we are aware, in a very rude and primitive age these customs seem to have involved a great deal of sacrifice by fire, and we know that at that time human sacrifices in connection with these and other customs were very far from uncommon. Now, at an early point of time these sacrifices by fire seem to have been partly replaced by a deposition of lamps, indicating a softening and elevation of manners and ideas; and in that and other directions Mr. Macalister has furnished very interesting illustrations to us of the progress of religious feeling and of religious ideas even outside burial. One point in connection with the lamps—though it is aside from this question of religious progress—I would like to touch upon. One of the lamps discovered by Mr. Macalister bears the inscription, taken from the Septuagint, of the 27th Psalm, "The Lord is my light." Now, it is a remarkable fact that among the Greek, or early Christian inscriptions in Palestine, those taken from the Septuagint of the Old Testament very far outnumber those that have been taken from the New Testament itself. Professor Harnack calls attention to the fact that in the early Christian Church a much larger use was made of the Greek Old Testament than of the New. He does not appeal to inscriptions in Palestine in evidence of his thesis, but he might have done so. I have examined hundreds of Christian Greek inscriptions in the Hauran, and these quite bear out what Professor

Harnack asserts, that in the early Church a very much larger use was made of the Greek Old Testament than of the New.

The second point that I wanted to touch upon—time forbids me enlarging upon any of these—is this. In the autumn of last year Mr. Macalister fixed the probable size of Gezer—of the city of Gezer—between 1500 B.C. and 100 B.C. The city wall, for the existence of which between these dates he has given very good proofs, measures about 4,500 feet in all. That is a little more than a third of the present wall of Jerusalem. The bearing of this fact upon important historical and topographical questions is very evident. It helps us to realise to a great degree the size of other cities in Palestine during the Israelite period; and, above all, it helps us towards the solution of a problem which has divided Palestinian scholars, namely, as to what was the size of the Jebusite Jerusalem and as to what was the size of Jerusalem under David. Now, a good many have come recently—to whom I express my adherence—a good many have come recently to believe that the Jebusite Jerusalem and David's Jerusalem were confined to Ophel, the slope of the Eastern Jerusalem hill. They have been met by the objection that this was far too small a site for a city of the size and importance of Jerusalem at that time. But now we find Gezer, which certainly, from its position on a great trade route and its connections with Egypt, must have been quite as large as the Jerusalem of that time, though not of Jerusalem under Solomon and the later kings; and we find it within a wall 4,500 feet long, while you can bound Ophel by a wall from 3,800 to a little over 4,000 feet long, thus proving at least the possibility of the confinement of the Jebusite and of David's Jerusalem to that site upon the eastern hill.

The third point is this: Mr. Macalister has wisely warned us of the havoc introduced into sites which have long lain undisturbed, first by the rifling of them for antiquities in order to meet the ignorant and very reckless demand of the great annual invasions of tourists, and second by the increase of a native population who have taken to building, and for their building draw upon the present ruins. I would like to emphasise this warning by Mr. Macalister, and the duty it conveys to us of hastening our work of excavation as speedily as possible, from my own experience in Moab last year. There is an immense increase there of the Circassian population brought in by the Turks with the view of

meeting the Bedouin and of cultivating the land. They are building as the Bedouin did not build, and they are pulling—as everybody knows who has visited there—they are pulling large tracts of ruins to pieces. The railway planned right down towards the Gulf of Akabah from Damascus, the Turkish Railway, has been opened as far as opposite the south end of the Dead Sea. When I was there last year the railway was bringing new settlers, keen to build and use the old ruins. There is a great extension, besides, of the Christian population, which since the time of the Crusades has been shut up within the walls of Kerak, upon the ruined and abandoned cities to the north of Kerak. But above all that, there is going on, as it has gone on from the earliest times in Palestine, the gradual transference of the nomadic population from a pastoral and a tent-dwelling state to an agricultural, and a state of dwelling in towns. In the little valley in which the caves of 'Arak el-Emir stand I found half a dozen houses just built. I said to the occupier of one of them, "How long have you been here?" "Ever since," he said, "I found my eyes: ever since I found my mind." I said, "Did you always live in a house?" "No," he said, "I have not always lived in a house, but my father laid it upon me that I should leave the tent and dwell in a house and so better cultivate this land than out of tents, as we have long cultivated it." It was a pure Arab tribe that this man belonged to. I said, "How do you live?" He said, "In the winter in the house, in the summer in tents." There is the process. There you catch an instance of what has always been going on—the transference from the nomadic and pastoral state to the agricultural and the settled state. But this involves the use of old ruins and their destruction, and the destruction of opportunities of finding out about the past history of Israel, opportunities that never will come back to us unless we take advantage of them now.

The last point upon which I desire to touch is this: Mr. Macalister's researches are not more illustrative in anything than in the exhibition they afford of the primitive religious customs which Israel encountered upon their entry into Palestine, and which persisted in the form of idolatry and the moral abominations that usually accompanied this up to the very end of the history of Israel upon the land. He has shown us upon this single site the Canaanite idolatry in all its forms, in all its consequences upon life, and, as we can guess, its consequences upon character; and he has shown us

besides how constant were the pressure and example of Egypt upon this part of the land at least, and how frequent were the pressure and example of another great heathen power—Assyria—and how, finally, Hellenism came in and added to these other heathen forces one more within the compass of that small territory on which Israel was settled. We realise, then, through work like Mr. Macalister's, what the purer religion of Israel had to contend with through all the centuries. I may say that we realise to a large extent *for the first time* what it had to fight with, what it had to struggle against all that time. Now, my lord, we have been told that Monotheism was the natural offspring of desert scenery and of desert life. But it was not in the desert that Israel's Monotheism developed and grew strong and reached its pure forms. It was in this land of Palestine, of which Gezer, with its many centuries and its many forms of idolatry, is so typical an instance. When we contemplate all these systems —specimens of which Mr. Macalister's work brings home to us— when we contemplate these systems, we are surely the more amazed at the survival, under their pressure and against their cruelty, of so much higher a spiritual and an ethical religion. Surely it is only a divine purpose, it is only the inspiration of the Most High which has been the cause. That at least seems to me to be the most notable lesson that one may learn after a study of the discoveries of the last 10 or 11 years. While we look at the things seen, which Mr. Macalister and Professor Sellin and Dr. Schumacher and other workers have opened up to our eyes—while we look at these things that are seen, surely we are more able to appreciate than ever we have been, the clear vision which the prophets of Israel had of the things that are unseen, and all their valour and persistence in pushing the consideration of these upon their countrymen. Surely we understand more than ever we did why Ezra and Nehemiah were so eager and zealous to raise the fence of the Law against the heathenism which was bearing in upon Israel from all sides, and which overcame all other Semitic religions. And surely, last of all, as Mr. Macalister by his most recent discoveries has enabled us still more to do, we can recognise and appreciate the valour of the Maccabees who fought against the last tide of heathenism, and brought Israel through it pure, constant, and with her Law untouched—that Israel out of which Christ Our Lord was born, and out of which our religion has grown. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN.—The resolution moved by Dr. George Adam Smith is that the Report and Accounts, already printed and in the hands of the subscribers, be received and adopted. That will be seconded, I am glad to say, by my friend Dr. Horton.

Rev. R. F. HORTON, M.A., D.D.—Your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Perhaps I may be allowed in seconding this Report to express our great delight in seeing Professor George Adam Smith restored to health again. For in all exploration, both theological and geographical, Professor George Adam Smith is a very valuable asset indeed to this country and to our better thought. I should like to second this adoption of the Report; but, at the same time, I feel a great hesitation in even occupying two minutes of the meeting, because the mover of the Report is a great expert; and I am thankful to say that we have present with us this afternoon another expert, not of this particular country, but of excavations and explorations—Professor Flinders Petrie. (Applause.) And when we can secure the presence of such experts, our wisdom obviously is to make them talk as long as they can, and to encourage them to believe that we shall listen for ever. An expert is like every other excavator—his best treasures are underneath; and the first few paragraphs of his speech very seldom indicate the treasures that are underlying. An expert should have an hour and a half for every speech, and the person who is not an expert should take a very few minutes indeed. But there is one word I should like to say arising out of the appeal that Professor George Adam Smith has made to the English public on this question. I think that the demand for money to carry out the excavations, such as those at Gezer, should not be addressed merely to crowned heads. (Laughter.) Because I feel that crowned heads are so few, and their responsibilities, I suppose, are great. The appeal for funds, it seems to me, for such a work as this should be made to the widest possible public in this country. (Hear, hear.) And in view of the results of the explorations at Gezer, I think there is a very legitimate appeal to the interest—not only to the archæological but to the religious interest of this country. In reading the reports of Mr. Macalister's work I always feel that if this were known—let us say, known to the ordinary members of Christian Churches—there would be an immense response to the appeal for carrying out the work further. What I want to suggest

in seconding this resolution, if I may, is that the Palestine Exploration Fund should endeavour to appeal to the country at large by the method which has proved wonderfully successful in other directions, the method of an exhibition—an exhibition which would present as clearly as possible the results of the explorations at Gezer. I am told that if, in any provincial town, for example, there is an exhibition of things connected with Palestine, you cannot possibly make room enough for the numbers of people who wish to see it. And they are willing to pay a large entrance fee, and to pay extra fees inside for all the special exhibitions. Now it is to that larger public and that wider and deeper interest in the work of the Fund that I should urge us to appeal, rather than to a few wealthy and generous men. I think we must all feel that the brilliant and vivid insight that Professor George Adam Smith has given into the work at Gezer just touches a point which is of value to the religion that we profess. We all, of course, remember that Dean Stanley spoke of Palestine as the Fifth Gospel; and we have given an immense amount of careful and minute and critical and textual study to the other four. Has not the time come when we should give the same amount of careful study to the fifth? And as we have been reminded this afternoon, the peculiarity of the Fifth Gospel is that its pages, through antiquity, adhere together, and they require to be very carefully separated by excavations before the fulness of their message can be apprehended. To get at the secret of a place like Gezer is to suggest "What would it be if we could get at the secret of some of those other towns of the Holy Land which are more immediately connected with our own Christian faith?" There must be, underneath some of those towns, records and indications which would perhaps be as startling and would be much more valuable than that terrible discovery of the little child who was immolated at the foundations of a Canaanite town. I long to see Jericho explored; I long to see Jerusalem itself explored; and I believe our own country would thoroughly apprehend the value of such an exploration now that the results at Gezer are sufficiently secured and tabulated to present a good object-lesson of what could be done. I venture, therefore, in seconding the adoption of the Report, modestly to propose that something in the way of an exhibition should be given, first in London and then in the provinces, which would awaken the country to the importance of the work that this Fund has undertaken.

This resolution having been carried, the Chairman called upon Canon Dalton to move the second resolution.

Canon DALTON.—The resolution which has been entrusted to my hands will occupy only a very few minutes. It is that the following gentlemen be added to the General Committee of the Fund. I may say that the gentlemen whose names I am about to read to you have intimated to us that they will be very happy indeed to serve if you see fit to elect them: The Right Rev. Samuel Webster Allen, R.C., Bishop of Shrewsbury; the Rev. Thomas George Bonney, LL.D., F.R.S.; Professor Geo. Buchanan Gray, Mansfield College, Oxford; the Most Rev. John Healy, D.D., Archbishop of Tuam; the Rev. Claude Hermann Walter Johns, Queens' College, Cambridge; the Rev. Father Lagrange, of the "École Biblique," Jerusalem; Edwin Pears, Esq., LL.B., Pera, Constantinople; the Rev. William Sanday, D.D., Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; the Rev. Chas. Anderson Scott, St. John's, Kensington; the Rev. Chas. Taylor, D.D., Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. I beg to propose that those names be added to those of our General Committee.

The Rev. ARTHUR CARR seconded, and the resolution was carried.

Mr. J. D. CRACE.—I have to mention the loss by death of the following members since the last Annual Meeting:—Bishop of Carlisle, Sir William Charley, K.C., Dr. Thomas Chaplin, the Earl of Northbrook, Admiral Sir Erasmus Ommanney, Frederick David Mocatta, Dr. Edward Atkinson, Peter Mackinnon, General A. C. Cooke, C.B., R.E., Colonel Sir John Farquharson, K.C.B., R.E., Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I.

Lord SIDMOUTH proposed, and Dr. GINSBURG seconded, the re-election of the Committee.

Mr. J. D. CRACE proposed that Professor George Buchanan Gray be invited to serve on the executive Committee. This was carried.

Mr. J. D. CRACE.—With your Grace's permission, I propose to take upon myself to omit reading the paper which Sir Charles Wilson had prepared, for this reason: that in the eloquent address which Dr. George Adam Smith has made to the audience he has so thoroughly gone over the ground which Sir Charles Wilson has

touched upon, that I feel it would be taking up unnecessarily the time of the meeting and of your Grace to go again over the same items; but what I think will probably help the meeting to understand better those remarks will be the short series of views which I propose to show upon the screen.[1]

(*A series of* 18 *views was here thrown upon the screen.*)

Mr. J. D. Crace.—No. 1 represents on the map the position of Gezer, just on a spur of the hills to the west of Jerusalem. The other places touched upon were Taanach up here at the end of the Carmel range, and Megiddo, which is a little to the left.

No. 2 shows the site which is being dealt with. The long hill with a dip represents the position of the High Place.

No. 3 is the plan of the site as now excavated showing the city walls, the South and the North Gates, and the Maccabæan Castle, which Mr. Macalister supposes to be the remains of the house built by Simon.

No. 4 shows the work in progress, and one object of this and the two or three following views is to show what a very extensive work it is, and the way in which it is performed. The workpeople, men and women, have to carry the earth removed in small baskets from the site to the bank.

No. 5 is another view which gives you some idea of what the foundations look like when they are uncovered. In the foreground are the sherds of pottery preserved for examination. There is not a thing of the kind turned up in the excavation but what is examined by Mr. Macalister before it is dealt with.

No. 6 shows the great stones of the High Place, which, in fact, was the place of worship probably of more than one form of religion during many ages, and which was found after removing the earth to the full depth of the stones.

No. 7 is one of the jars in which the remains of the infants were found buried under the pavement of the High Place.

No. 8 shows jars for food deposited with the buried infants.

No. 9 shows one of the foundation burials, the remains of an infant in the jar, and bowls placed on the top.

No. 10 is a similar jar broken to display the remains of the infant; you see the bones of the infant in the jar just as it was found in the site.

[1] Sir Charles Wilson's Address is printed below on p. 305.

No. 11 shows what Dr. George Adam Smith referred to, the succeeding form of burial, when human sacrifice was done away with for the ceremonial of foundations; they then substituted burial lamps and bowls. Apparently, the lamp represented in some sort the idea of human life, and the bowl represented the deposit for food which seems to have been common to so many forms of heathen burial.

No. 12 represents the fragment of the first of the two tablets that was found on the site of Gezer, and which was a contract tablet for the sale of property. One interesting feature about it is, that one of the same witnesses is found to have attested the second tablet, which was found only two or three months ago. The first was found more than a year ago, and very near was found the second fragment bearing the same witness's name; also the vendor of the land has a Hebrew name; so that you have the combination of the Hebrew selling the property, and the Assyrian script used in the dealing, and the fact that the Assyrian writing and language were in use in the time of Manasseh, which was the date of both tablets, also the interesting fact that the Assyrian language was in use there as evidencing the Assyrian domination; and further, was used for legal documents, and I suppose then occupied somewhat the same position that Norman French did in England after the Conquest.

No. 13 shows a bath-house—one of the rooms in the bath-house attached to the palace of Simon. You see the actual baths placed here. There are several chambers, and a heating chamber below. (*See* Fig. 1.)

No. 14 is another portion of the same building, with one of the baths to the left. The hole in the lower centre represents a part of the heating flue of the furnace.

No. 15 represents a portion of a gateway—the inner gateway. It is apparently the principal entrance to the palace or castle. (*See* Fig. 2.)

No. 16 gives one some sort of idea of the vast undertaking that the excavation of a city of this kind really is. People see what appear to them large sums spent upon excavation, possibly without realising the enormous amount of labour or the great extent to which they are carried on; and this shows the foundations of the houses as they are uncovered. It, of course, requires considerable practice and experience to know where to look for anything beyond the mere traces of foundations.

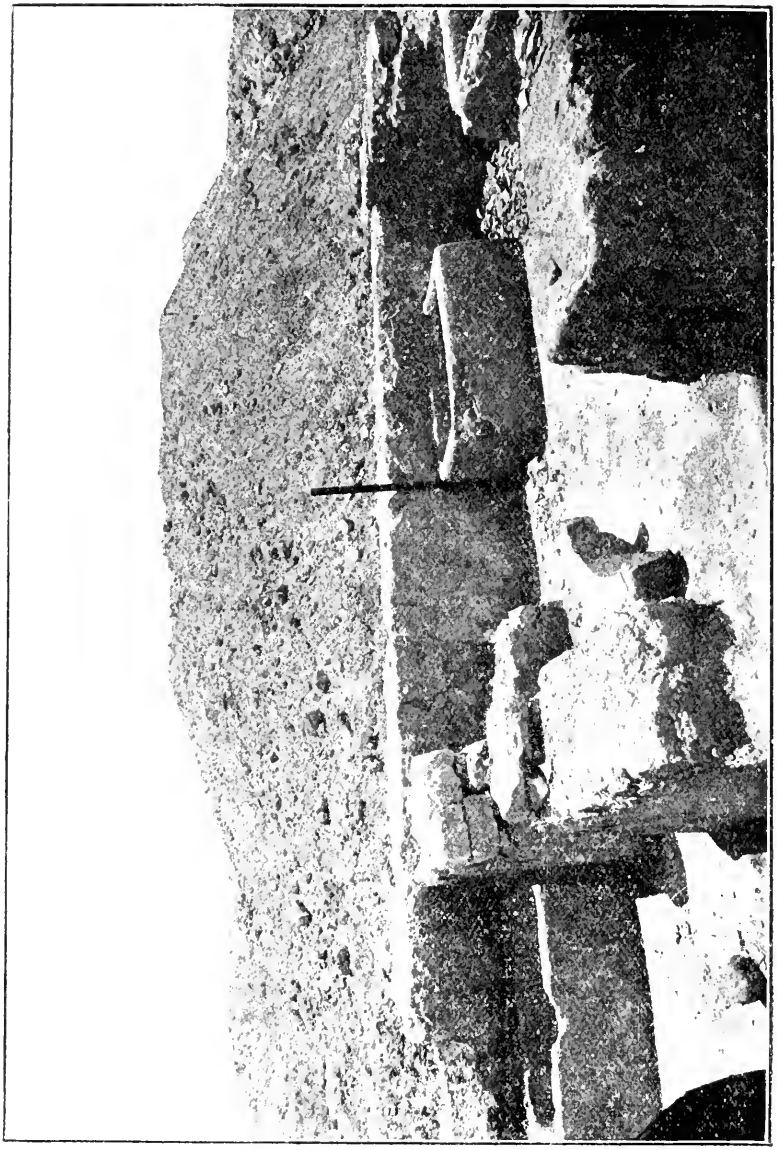


FIG. 1.—BATHS AND BATH CHAMBERS AT GEZER.

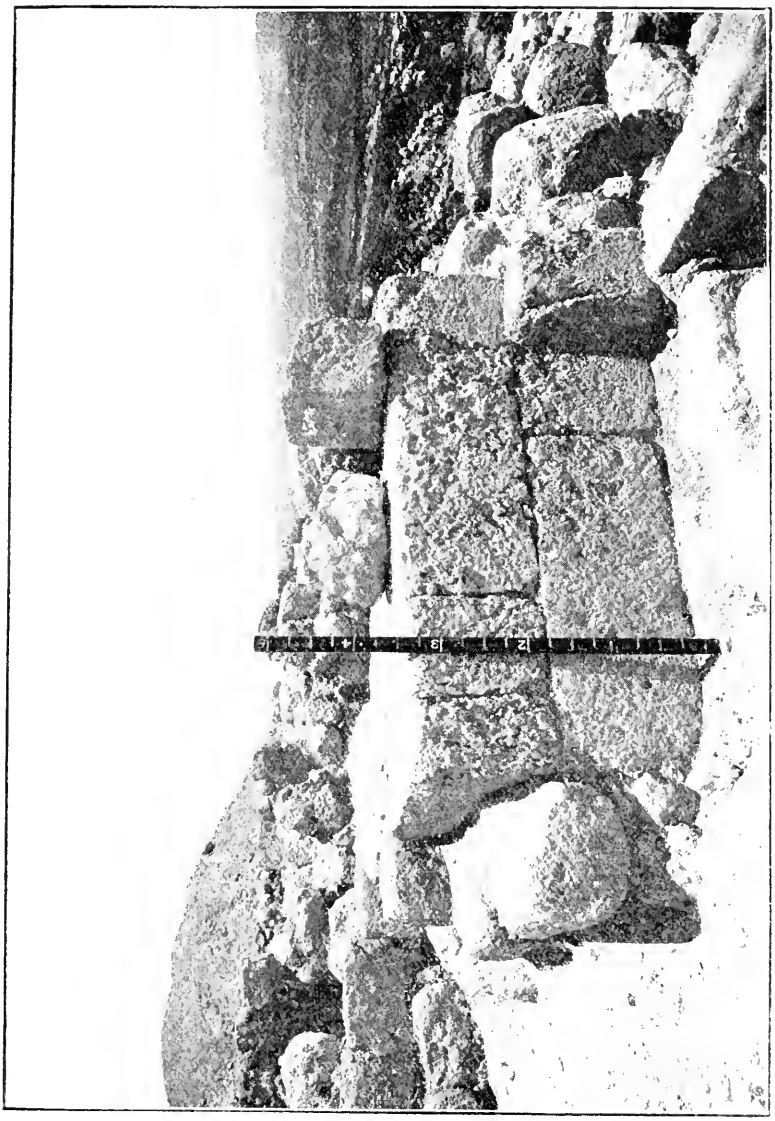


FIG. 2.—A PORTION OF THE INNER GATEWAY AT GEZER.

No. 17 is another view, looking south right through the great trench which has been cut at this part of the hill showing the foundations of the various houses, and looking away into the country beyond.

No. 18 is a portion of the town wall and the gateway. These portions of masonry in the centre represent the passageway of the gatehouse, and the few loose stones here are apparently the sill of the town gate. That completes the series. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN.—I understand that I am asked to say a few words now to follow what we have listened to. Dr. Horton has given you the best possible reason why my speech is not required, because he said, with absolute truth, that our business and our desire upon these occasions is to make experts speak, and to listen to what they have to tell us, or—as has just happened—to show us. But I should be sorry not to say a single word about what seems to me to be the real bigness and importance of the work that we are trying to do, or about its place in the whole scheme of our modern understanding of ancient things, sacred and secular. I do not think England has quite done justice during the last half century to the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. I disclaim entirely the attribute of an expert in these matters, but I have not been entirely ignorant of what was being done. It fell to me during two prolonged Eastern expeditions or residences to become intimately acquainted more than 30 years ago with the earlier stages of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. It happened to me first to be concerned to some extent in some of the initial investigations which took place in the direction of Petra and in Petra itself—a region which, I believe, has not been very thoroughly explored even yet; and I for one am waiting with anxiety for the production of the further information which we are promised about that profoundly interesting district. But more important than that, I spent a whole spring a few years later in Jerusalem, and at that time became acquainted with all that the workers of the Fund were doing in the region round it. And after what we have just been looking at in those pictures, I am impressed immensely with the truth of what was said so well by Professor George Adam Smith with regard to the need for our doing this work now if ever. If we regret the fact that we are in danger, by the incursion of ignorant and unlearned people, of losing treasures which might

otherwise be preserved for us or our successors to investigate, let us remember with thankfulness the other side—what a blessed thing it is that they have been covered up till now. Imagine if some of those things had, by nature or the act of man, been uncovered a hundred years ago! Where should we have been to-day? It is the fact of the burying of them, and their remaining buried until the time when, in the providence of God, people were raised up to explain them to the world—it is to that we owe no small part of the possibilities which are now ours, of re-picturing things which seemed a few years ago to have passed beyond the reach of such possibilities altogether. I said that what I have just looked at brought that remarkably home to me. I remember in one of the long rides that I was taking at that time near Jerusalem, sometimes in the company of the then Lieutenant Conder, one ride which included Gezer. And the contrast between what we see to-day and what was visible then upon that mound—which we saw the outline of in one of these photographs—makes one feel how grand a thing it is that the exploration has been delayed till now. But having got it, let us make the most of it. Let us take care that funds are, by hook or by crook, forthcoming which shall prevent this thing being either inadequately done as we take it in hand, or our being too late to do it at all. As immigrants go into those regions and erect houses upon the old ground, the need is obviously becoming greater every day that we should move while there is yet time, and understand all that we are allowed to understand about what can now be brought to light. The expression of Dean Stanley was quoted, I think by Dr. Horton, that the Holy Land, the land of Palestine, is a fifth Gospel. But we need not only Gospels, but Gospellers. The land was there all the while, but this Gospel was not of much use until we came to our own time. And I should imagine that literary history will tell us that during the century that has last passed there have been three great Gospellers—there has been the gospel of the American Dr. Robinson, the gospel of Arthur Stanley, and last, but certainly not least, the gospel of George Adam Smith. (Applause). Those Gospellers have found and interpreted something that was no doubt in our possession, but the value of which was neither understood nor publicly and generally available. It is now made available, and it is by the very kind of effort which this Fund exists to set forth that the possibility of making those Gospels tell what they ought to tell for the world's

good, for the religious and secular information of students of all sorts—it is for that reason that we have a right, I think, to appeal to all whom we can have any influence over to see that our funds do not languish, and that the work is able to be prosecuted with all the energy that it deserves. The contrast between the kind of times I speak of, 30 years ago, when those regions were more or less familiar to me, and the facts to-day, with all the many agencies that are now at work, has, to my mind, its element of peril as well as its element of gain. The energy of explorers has before now been a perilous thing in the story of exploration; and, although we are happy in knowing the reverent enthusiasm which is being displayed by many other bodies besides our own in this work, I shall be glad to feel that we are pushing forward strongly and well, and that the work is being done now at a time when, as I believe, it is done quite as well as it is ever likely to be done in the years that lie ahead. I suppose we should say of any bit of the world that had so ancient a history, that it was a grand thing that we should bring to light what lies below the surface. But such work is infinitely more urgent and infinitely more necessary when we are dealing with the land upon whose history so much has turned in the centuries that have passed since then. We want to anticipate alike the ravages of those who use ruins as their quarry, and the incursion of those who may build over places which we ultimately want to get at. I suppose it is true to say that the exploration of Jerusalem has been hampered to a great degree by the increase of modern buildings over bits of land which could have been more readily examined several years ago. But that peril is not confined to Jerusalem, and for all those regions the cry of urgency is legitimately a loud one; because, if one contemplates such a continuance, or even possibly such an excess, of immigration into Palestine as the next 10 years may see over the last 20 years, one finds that the perils, whichever way one looks at them, are certainly not inconsiderable. All those reasons seem to me to multiply upon us the urgency of setting ourselves to this task with redoubled vigour. There is no real reason why, in the nature of things, our efforts should at any particular time be confined to one particular place, however important. We are not obliged to be entirely done with one place before we begin upon another, provided we have the money and the men. The money and the men ought to be forthcoming for a work so important to the whole

interests of sacred and secular knowledge; and I cannot but believe that, if people were better awake to what has been done of late, what is capable of being done now, and what will be impossible to do a few years hence, we should find some of the difficulties that at present beset us disappear. I agree with Dr. Horton that we must not confine ourselves to appealing to crowned heads. The German work seems to have depended to no inconsiderable degree upon the help which it received in that way. If one looks at the balance-sheet of the German Fund, one finds that the general subscriptions are very insignificant in amount, and that it really has been by the help that came from the crowned head that the work was mainly carried forward. In England I am quite sure that we can without very much difficulty increase, to a degree that would put us outside the region of bewilderment or difficulty in our work, the funds that are at our disposal, without being dependent upon great gifts from crowned heads or central authorities. I am not sure that I should be quite as sanguine as my friend Dr. Horton about the results of Exhibitions, much as I believe in them for many indirect purposes. I have an experience which does not exactly correspond with his as to the financial results sometimes, and I think the matter needs to be looked into somewhat carefully before we trust to that particular mode as a direct means of raising money to a large extent; but that indirectly that means would be productive of good I have not the smallest doubt. Therefore I, for one, should encourage with all my might any endeavour that should be strenuously taken in hand to set forward Exhibitions which would bring home to the least thoughtful the facts that are coming to the knowledge of those of us who look into them to-day. I believe that to be both possible and desirable, and I hope that Dr. Horton's suggestion will bear fruit. I believe I am right in saying that the great Exhibition last year at St. Louis was of extreme use on the other side of the Atlantic in bringing to the knowledge of many people facts of which they had been absolutely unaware; and I am quite sure that this Fund and those who represent it ought to be loud in recognition of the courtesy and vigour combined which were shown by the authorities, who took pains to make clear to everybody who desired to learn the real significance of what, I am told, was a wonderful sight—the exhibition as part of the great St. Louis Exhibition last year. The British Commissioner, Colonel Watson, I know has been connected

with this Fund, and naturally, to everybody's gain, took immense pains to make our part in that great Exhibition a worthy one; but I suppose that it was to Professor Wright that thanks were mainly due, for the immense trouble he took in devoting a whole month of his time exclusively to personal attendance at the Exhibition, and giving explanations to visitors; and I should be sorry if we did not recognise that to-day, and express the feeling of thankfulness that we have towards him. I shall not detain you more, and I do not think that I need try to say more than again to express my hope that this meeting will be a centre from which information and enthusiasm about this work will go forward. I mean, if this meeting, composed as it is of people who come from various homes, will undertake that each individual now in the hall becomes a centre for spreading knowledge about the matter, then I have no fear at all about the results that will ultimately follow. It is in that kind of way that gatherings such as our annual meetings ought to be prolific of general good throughout the whole community. That they can do so I am certain; that they will do so on this particular occasion I do not desire for a moment to doubt.

Professor Flinders Petrie.—Your Grace, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—It is a great pleasure to me as a former worker for this Society to move that this meeting should, in the name of the Society, give our most cordial thanks to Mr. Stewart Macalister for the zealous and efficient way in which he has conducted the excavations. He has the essential idea of recording and drawing everything that he finds, so that it will be possible for others to work over and utilise all his materials in connection with other discoveries in the future. You will not know, perhaps for a generation to come, what all are the results that may be brought to light in the future from such a complete record as he is now making; and the toil in tent and trench should be cheered by the assurance that this work will be fully published for study. An old friend of mine used to say that the people who really did new things were like the edge of a knife, a very minute part of the whole, but the part which made it possible for the back to follow. (Laughter.) And the moral of that is that the edge cannot work unless it has the support of a stiff backing behind it. While the keen edge of your Society at Gezer is in the wearisome, tedious, and often disheartening work of making out results from tons of earth handled by dozens of

ignorant natives, it is the duty of those at home to form the strong backing which shall push him forward in such work, and so enable us to follow on to the fresh ideas which we all want and need to understand. There are millions of pounds spent yearly on work based on the Bible, and surely it is worth a thousandth part of that to better understand these documents on which this work rests. Mr. Macalister has done his best very well indeed; and I hope you will recognise it by meeting his whole-hearted work in the same spirit. I therefore beg to move that the thanks of this meeting be presented to Mr. Stewart Macalister for the indefatigable energy, the care, the tact, and the exactitude with which he has conducted his excavations at Gezer, and the ability and perseverance which he has brought to bear on the work.

The CHAIRMAN.—This resolution will be seconded by Dr. Masterman. I must apologise to the meeting for being obliged to go now. In 25 minutes I have to make a speech in Parliament, and I must, I am sorry to say, ask the Treasurer to take my place, and miss the remainder of the subject to-day.

The Chair having been taken by Mr. Walter Morrison,

Dr. MASTERMAN.—Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—My only excuse for appearing before you this afternoon in response to the invitation is that, to some extent, I represent the many English and Foreign residents living in Jerusalem who are so deeply interested in, and who so deeply feel the importance of, this work. I feel quite sure that if those of you could do as I and many of us residents in Palestine have done—go yourselves to see the work that is going on at Gezer, your interest would not be lessened, but would last the rest of your life. It has been my great privilege to be down at these excavations—I am afraid to say how many—certainly some dozens of times; and I have watched the progress of the work from the time when the *tell* that they are now excavating was a grass-covered hill with only a house and a few graves on it up to the time when a few months ago I left Palestine: and to my mind there is nothing so romantic in the whole of Palestine as the watching of the progress of that wonderful work. I feel I must mention one little incident. I well remember a certain afternoon when I was down there with Professor Macalister and Mr. Macalister, and we were walking over that *tell*, and we came in the course of our wanderings upon a huge stone with a pit

beside it. And I recall how these two, both of them experts on the subject, were discussing whether it was possible that stone could really be one of the great monoliths which were the objects of worship to the early Semites; and I remember how we followed the outline of the ground from place to place, and there, sure enough, a few yards away was another stone appearing above the ground a few inches, and then a few yards further on there was another, and again another, and when I very sadly the next morning had to go away I was waiting with the greatest impatience to hear what was the result of excavating that spot. The result you see before you in that wonderful High Place which has been one of the most wonderful discoveries that has been made in Palestine during the whole existence of the Palestine Exploration Fund. It is not for me here to dwell, as experts have done, on the flood of light which is thrown upon the whole religion that surrounded the Children of Israel; but I feel also that it is not only the thrilling interest of the thing that should appeal to you. I do indeed add my words to those that Professor George Adam Smith said about the extreme urgency of the need. I can assure you that those who live in Palestine who are interested in these things are constantly deeply grieved to see the destruction that is going on all around us. Let me mention one little incident. A few years ago the Fund were excavating at *Tell Sandahannah*, and they excavated a great deal of a Greek town there, and were proceeding with the work when the firman expired. No sooner had the explorers removed their camp than down swooped the natives, who had learnt from our own methods how to excavate; and they set to work and rifled every grave that they could reach within I do not know how many acres of ground. And among the graves was one of the most extraordinary tombs ever discovered, one on which the Fund has now published a monograph.[1] In that tomb were the most marvellous paintings, things, as far as I know, almost unique of their kind in Palestine; and yet, although it so happened that skilled men who knew how to appreciate these things appeared on the scene only a few days after that place had first been discovered, the natives, with their love of destruction, had come down and had wiped out every human face in the paintings on the wall. I can assure you that with my knowledge of

[1] *Painted Tombs at Marissa.* By the Rev. J. P. Peters, Ph.D., D.D., and Hermann Thiersch, Ph.D.

Palestine, if that tomb had been left unprotected for a few months more, there would have been nothing worth recording at all. And so it is with countless other things. No sooner is a thing found than, unless the right man is on the spot, it is utterly destroyed, or made useless for scientific purposes. And then again we do, I think, as Englishmen, and as the great Society which has been the pioneer Society in this work, need to look to our laurels. For the other Societies we have heard of are going ahead with all the enthusiasm of youth, and sometimes it looks as if we were almost dropping behind. It was one of the most extraordinary things to me on a recent visit to Berlin to find there, in the New "Kaiser Frederick Museum," laying at its full length—I do not know how many feet long—an enormous palace which had been transferred the whole way from *Mushetta*, away in the desert, east of the Jordan. I had last seen that palace after travelling some two or three days into the east of the Jordan on purpose to see it. It was one of the greatest works of art of the kind; and there, now, regardless of expense, the German Society has transferred the whole palace bodily to Berlin. That is a great, though perhaps rather a questionable, act; but, at any rate, the antiquarian remains of Palestine are fast being examined in different ways by different Societies, and our opportunities are year by year becoming less.

It is my great pleasure to have to second a vote of thanks to my friend, Mr. Macalister; and I do so because we all of us so greatly appreciate him and his work. If there is one thing for which we feel he is unusually adapted for the work, it is his own personality, his own wonderful dealing with the natives, his workmen, whose hearts he has won on all sides, and his own extraordinarily successful dealing in the difficulties that he has had to contend with with the Turkish Government. The Turkish Government have given him a confidence which I think they have never given to any other explorer. They are very suspicious of explorers that they will not be straightforward to them; and I know that many have tried to persuade Mr. Macalister at times to quietly annex articles, which, of course, would be greatest folly. If he did so he would lose the confidence of the Turks. He has the utmost confidence both of the Turkish officers and of the natives; and if I may be permitted to say so, there is one feature of his work which I think everyone who has visited it will agree with, and that is its thoroughness, its tremendous thoroughness. It is his ambition to

turn over every foot of ground upon the site of Gezer—every foot of ground that has ever been included in the city; and I am sure all of us rejoice in the decision of the Committee that instead of turning to new fields, this *tell* is first to be absolutely examined from the top to the bottom. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN.—Gentlemen, you have heard the resolution, that the best thanks of this meeting be presented to Mr. Stewart Macalister for the indefatigable energy, the care, tact, and exactitude with which he has conducted his excavations at Gezer, and the ability and perseverance which he has brought to bear on the work; and I would add one word. Some of us have felt it is rather warm to-day. I can assure you that the warmth in London is nothing to what it is at this present moment at Gezer; and those who have had to do with Orientals will know it is very much harder work to bargain and wrangle in hot weather than in weather of a temperate kind.

This resolution having been carried,

The CHAIRMAN.—It now devolves upon me to move that the best thanks of the Society be given to the managers of the Royal Institution for the loan of the Lecture Theatre. We are very grateful to this famous Institution, which is famous in the history of science, for the hospitality which they are always ready to extend to us, and thereby acknowledging that we, too, are a scientific Society. For we do our work scientifically, as the managers of this Institution know; though the experts we chiefly have to consult may be archæologists and scholars and linguists, still all science is brought to bear more or less upon the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund. We have taken up the geology; we have taken up the botany of the country; and we require sometimes the assistance of chemists, and sometimes the assistance of astronomers.

Mr. J. D. CRACE.—I shall be very pleased to second that. I think we are very greatly indebted to the Royal Institution for the loan of this theatre.

The resolution was carried.

Canon DALTON proposed a resolution of thanks to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for having taken the chair.

The Rev. GEORGE ADAM SMITH seconded, and the resolution was carried. The proceedings then terminated.

The Progress of Excavations in Palestine.

Address by Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., F.R.S., Chairman of the Executive Committee.

During the last 12 months the excavations so ably carried out for the Fund at Gezer by Mr. Macalister have made steady progress. Professor Dr. Sellin, of Vienna, has completed his exploration of the ruins of Taanach. Dr. Schumacher has continued his work for the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine at *Tell Mutesellim*, Megiddo; and the German "Orient Gesellschaft" is making a complete examination of the ancient synagogues in Galilee.

Excavations are dependent upon money, and in this respect, unfortunately, the Fund is at a disadvantage when compared with its more fortunate German co-workers. The Executive Committee had hoped that the reply to their appeal for additional funds last year would have enabled Mr. Macalister to complete the exploration of Gezer before the expiry of the "permit," but this has not been the case. A very large portion of the mound will remain untouched on the 31st August next, when our trenches will have to be closed. The question of attacking a new site, or of continuing the work at Gezer, was discussed by the Committee, and it was decided to complete the exploration of the old Levitical city. In coming to this conclusion they were guided, in great measure, by the fact that no ancient site in Palestine has yet been completely examined, and by the desirability of ascertaining everything connected with the history of one such site, so far as it can be brought to light by excavation. It is only in this manner that a satisfactory basis can be obtained for a reconstruction of the pre-Israelite, Israelite, and Post-Exilic history of Palestine. The results obtained at Gezer have been so encouraging, and the most interesting discoveries have been made at such unexpected places, that the Committee feel that every possible portion of the mound should be turned over before the site is abandoned. Professor Paton, late Director of the American School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem, writes:—"No other exploration in Palestine has been so successful as this, and it is greatly to be hoped that the Fund will not stop until the mound is completely investigated." And others have expressed a similar opinion. The Committee have consequently requested the Foreign Office to apply for a new "permit" to excavate at Gezer, and to ask that it may come into force next summer, so as to allow

Mr. Macalister to take a much-needed holiday. During his stay in this country Mr. Macalister will bring out a popular work upon the excavations, with the special object of drawing attention to the remarkable manner in which the results he has obtained illustrate the Bible narrative. The work has been commenced, and when ready it will be published by the Fund without delay.

Mr. Macalister, it may be remembered, classified the remains at Gezer as Neolithic, or pre-Historic, Canaanite or Amorite, pre-Exilic Israelite, and post-Exilic, and it will be convenient to follow that classification in drawing attention to recent discoveries. Little has been added to our knowledge of the cave-dwellers of the Neolithic period; but the Canaanites, so intimately connected with the early history of the Hebrews in Palestine, are rapidly becoming for us people of flesh and blood. Vases and other decorative work in metal, stone, and pottery, clearly mark their type of culture and civilisation; and Gezer, Taanach, and Megiddo have supplied many accurate data with regard to their religion. As Dr. Sellin has well observed, we now realise, as we never did before, that the Bible pictures the Canaanites and their religion in a manner that is historically correct. The naturalistic and superstitious character of their religion is made obvious, and we can understand thoroughly the life and death struggle in which the Hebrew prophets engaged in warring against this religion. No bridge could have spanned the gulf between the two creeds. A certain external similarity between the Hebrew religion and that of the people who were ethnologically akin to them, there certainly was, but in appropriating these common forms, the Hebrews gave them a new and different spirit. Nothing is clearer or more interesting than the evidence supplied by the Gezer excavations of the gradual growth—slow at first, with many lapses—and eventual triumph of the purer religion. After the Hebrew conquest the "High Place" gradually falls out of favour, and the sacrifice of infants and adults in connection with foundation rites slowly gives way to the lamp and bowl deposits.

The wealth and culture of the Canaanites is becoming more and more apparent. The inscribed tablets found at Taanach show that in the Esdraelon district the petty kings used the Babylonian language and script in their letters to each other and in the transaction of business. In one of the letters the King or Governor of Megiddo orders Ištarwašar of Taanach to send to Megiddo on the day of reception "thy brothers, with their carts, a horse, thy

tribute, and presents, and all prisoners who are with thee." At Taanach Professor Sellin was fortunate enough to find the untouched remains of a Canaanite lady surrounded by those of five children from about four to sixteen years of age, with jewels, rings, and other ornaments. The household furniture was also untouched, and included jars for provisions, and a little bronze statue of Astarte.

Great difficulty has been experienced in dating many of the "finds," but two important discoveries at Megiddo and Gezer promise to supply interesting data. At the former place Dr. Schumacher has found some untouched tombs, partly vaulted with undressed stones, and containing well-preserved pottery, bronze implements, scarabs, and cylinders. The tombs are supposed to date from about B.C. 2000, but no description of their contents has yet been published. At Gezer, Mr. Macalister is still examining an untouched rock-hewn chamber, from which he has already obtained quantities of early pottery, vases of alabaster, bronze implements, and many scarabs, one of which appears to be of the time of Usertesen III (now read as Semsert III), say about 2500 B.C. The find is one of exceptional richness and importance, and Mr. Macalister proposes to describe it in a monograph with coloured plates. Some of the scarabs are of great beauty, and nearly all of them are mounted in gold.

In the strata of rubbish which represent the Hebrew period at Gezer, Mr. Macalister has found a fragment of another Assyrian contract tablet. It is dated two years later than the one found last year, and is witnessed by one of the same witnesses, as well as by a man bearing a Hebrew name, Natan-iau (Nethaniah). This seems to show a common knowledge of the Assyrian script and language as late as the reign of Manasseh. The excavations supply additional evidence of the continuance of infant and adult sacrifice during the Hebrew period (*cf.* Exod. xxii, 29; Josh. vi, 26; 1 Kings xvi, 34), and of the general decline in art as Hebrew influence increased. At Megiddo the remains of a castle built with large drafted stones has been found, and will be fully uncovered this year. It belongs to the Hebrew period, but whether it is Solomonic or of the times of the kings of Israel is at present uncertain.

The most interesting feature of the post-Exilic strata at Gezer is the house or palace of Simon Maccabæus, of which a full description has been given in the *Quarterly Statements* of the past year.

Unfortunately, the palace had been completely looted, and nothing of special interest was found in it; but the complete excavation of a palatial building of that period, with its baths, offices, and drains, is in itself of great importance. There are several novel features, which will be fully treated in Mr. Macalister's final report.

To the Christian period belong the synagogues which are being excavated in Galilee by the German Oriental Society. The excavation of the synagogue at Tell Hûm, which was partially excavated by the Fund in 1865–66, is nearly completed, and has disclosed some interesting features, such as "a double staircase and platform in front of the synagogue." At the foot of the staircase is an old basaltic pavement, apparently of the original street. It would appear that many of the bases of columns uncovered in 1865–66 have since been carried away for building material. The other synagogues are now being taken up.

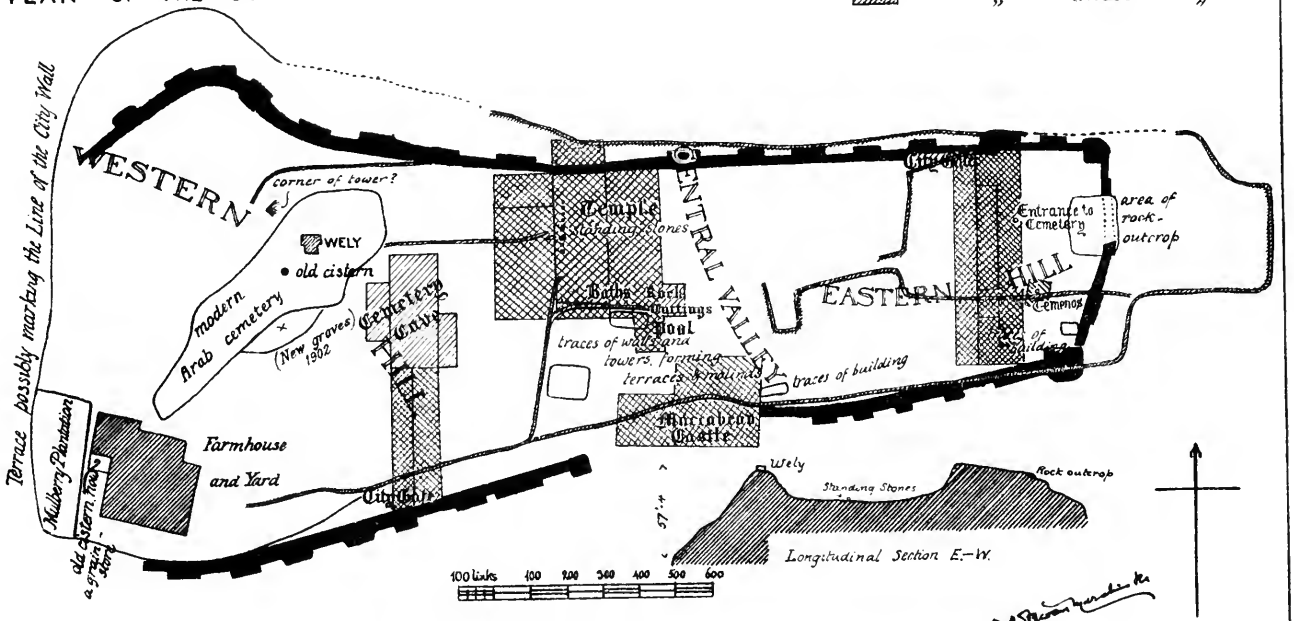
The various archæological schools at Jerusalem have also been doing good work. The Dominicans of the "École Biblique" have published an interesting and valuable memoir on their exploration of Eboda, 'Abdeh.' The German Institute, under Professor Dr. Dalman, with Professor Riedel as assistant, has held well-attended classes, and public lectures of great interest have been delivered. The students made a tour through Gilead to Bânias, returning by Kadesh, Tell Mutesellim, and Samaria, and wrote papers, which will appear in the journal of the German Palestine Society. The American School, under Professor Schmidt, have made a successful excursion into the Negeb, but no details have yet been received. These schools cannot fail to turn out some proportion of young men with the training and enthusiasm requisite for efficient research in this land so full of history, so full of difficult problems, and so dear to religion. The Palestine Exploration Fund has for 40 years paved the way for inquirers. Experience goes to show that it is to patient research below the surface that we must look for a more complete knowledge of the Holy Land.

EXCAVATION OF CEZER

PLAN OF THE SURFACE

Excavated before Report XI.

" since "



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THIRTEENTH QUARTERLY REPORT ON THE EXCAVATION OF GEZER.

16 *May*—30 *August*, 1905.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

§ I.—Preliminary.

It will be remembered that in the winter of 1902–3, owing to the epidemic of cholera and consequent quarantine regulations, it was impossible to carry on the works for a period of two months and a half. By the courtesy of His Excellency Hamdy Bey, the Fund was permitted to add an equal period to the extended firman (which expired June 14th), and so to postpone the final completion of the works at Gezer until August 30th. The present report covers the end of the firman and the period of extension, thus closing the series of reports from Gezer that have been appearing for the last three years.

The work done has consisted of an extension of the trenches on the Western Hill, where an early cemetery of the highest importance has been discovered; of a search for an extension of the Troglodyte high place; and of some miscellaneous researches and examinations in various parts of the hill and its surroundings, to solve certain questions that have arisen from time to time in the course of the works.

§ II.—The Cemetery Cave.

On Plate II will be found a ground plan of the most complicated system of caves that has yet been discovered on the hill. There is evidence that it was originally excavated by the pre-Semitic inhabitants as a dwelling place, like so many other caves found on the hill top; that it was subsequently utilised as a place of burial; and that it was most unfortunately discovered, many centuries after it had been closed and forgotten, by cistern-diggers, who entered it and looted its contents, leaving just sufficient for us to determine its character, period, and historical importance.

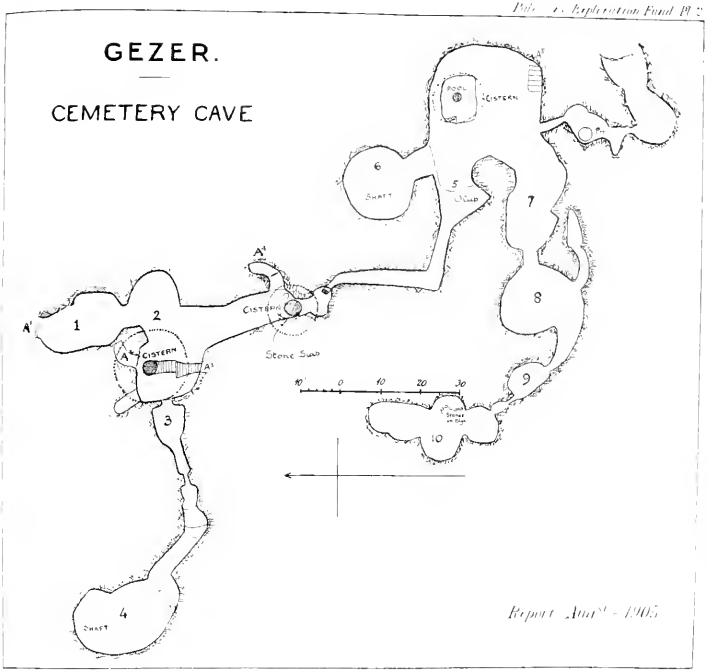
A full description of the cave and its contents, with sufficient illustrations, would fill a number of the *Quarterly Statement*. I must

content myself here with a brief account, premising that an exhaustive report, with a complete series of photographs and drawings, is in preparation, and will when complete be submitted to the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

There are (as will be seen in the plan) numerous entrances to the system: we shall select the most northerly (A^1) and describe the cave and its contents in order, proceeding southwards.

At the entrance A^1, which is an irregular hole broken in the rock with three roughly-cut steps for descent, was found a small gold rosette. The chamber (1) to which it leads was empty, except for some scanty fragments of pottery (including pieces of large jars with ledge-handles). But this chamber is in itself of sufficient interest to make up for the meagreness of its contents. It is of a fairly regular oval shape, and, as will be seen from the special plan (Plate III), the floor is covered with a system of circular cup-marks. These marks are as mysterious here as elsewhere; but it is specially to be noticed that they have a regularity both of individual form and relative arrangement that is wanting in the majority of similar systems in other places. The cups are, with a few exceptions, carefully made, round, with vertical sides and flat bottoms; and they are arranged in three ovals, or, rather, horseshoes, surrounding a central space in the floor that has been left vacant. This has been made clear in the plan by means of dotted lines. It is, perhaps, an accident that the first ring contains nine cups (3×3); the second, fifteen (5×3); and the third, eighteen (6×3); though the long space in one corner of the outer ring where a cup could easily have been placed seems to show that there is something definite in the number. The two cups not included in the rings are shallow, irregular depressions which may be natural. There is also a straight row of four cups occupying a trench sunk a few inches below the floor along the eastern side of the chamber.

We shall at present desist from occupying space in speculating on the purpose of this chamber and its mysteries, and pass on through the low doorway that separates it from the next room of the cave. This is a wide—more or less square—apartment, with two independent entrances of its own (A^2 and A^3). A^2 is a vertical doorway, approached by a continually deepening passage excavated in the rock; A^3 is an oval opening in the roof of the cave with a rudely-built flight of steps leading down to the floor.


GEZER.
CEMETERY CAVE
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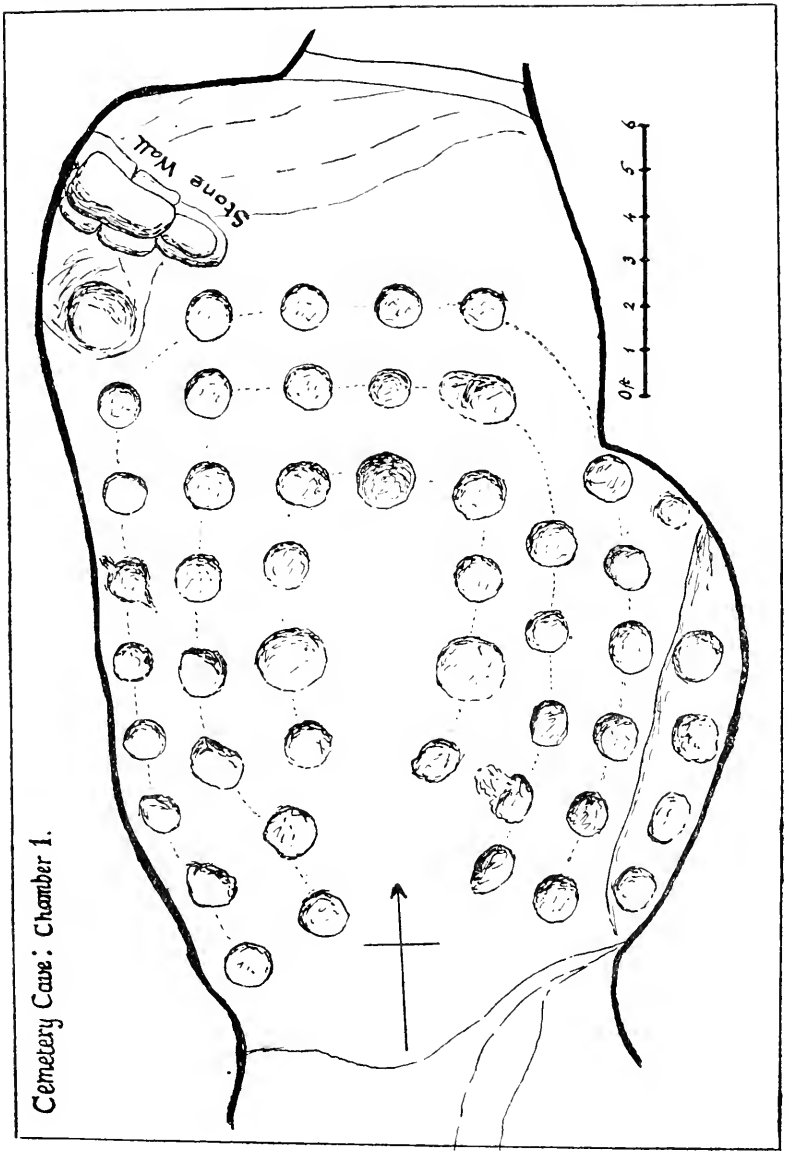
Report Aug^st - 1905

Palestine Exploration Fund. *Plate III.*



This chamber had been entered and looted by the well-sinkers by a route we shall presently describe. Everything it may originally have contained had been stolen by them, with the exception of potsherds of no special importance, and one deposit, which they had fortunately overlooked, in the loose earth covering the staircase just mentioned. This deposit consisted of a fine gold armlet, three large scarabs (one in steatite, inscribed, and two plain in crystal and amethyst respectively) set in silver mounts, several beads, and two or three gold rosettes.

At the foot of the staircase a cistern is sunk in the floor of the chamber 24 feet deep. This cistern does not differ in form from the ordinary bell-shaped reservoirs that have often been mentioned in these reports; but that it is of earlier date than the great majority of these is shown not only by its position in a cave that must have been concealed about 2000 B.C., but also by the primitive character of the pottery vessels that had been lost in it and were discovered when it was cleared. Yet it can scarcely be part of the original scheme of the cave. It would appear that there was first a lower chamber, approached by a flight of steps beautifully cut in the rock; that this chamber was deepened into the cistern, and the steps built over and concealed with masonry, in order to make the mouth of the cistern truly circular. This masonry was found intact when the cave was opened, and the steps in the rock were not seen till it had been removed.

In the middle of the west wall of the chamber is a small circular hole, through which one squeezes into an insignificant chamber, No. 3 (that contained nothing of importance but one fine early jar with ledge-handles and adorned with red lines); beyond this is a tunnel, proceeding first westward and then turning northward till it reaches a large, more or less round, chamber (No. 4). Into this room the well-sinkers broke at some time, probably about the seventh or eighth century B.C.; they found the tunnel, and through it the large chamber just quitted, which they plundered; and then returning to the cave on which they had lighted (No. 4), they blocked up the mouth of the tunnel with large stones, cemented these and the rest of the walls of the apartment, built a shaft, and so turned the whole into a cistern.

Retracing our way through the tunnel and back to the second chamber, we find that southward from the latter runs a broad, short passage, at the southern end of which there is, on the left-hand

(east) side, a fourth entrance to the cave (A^4). Just beyond this entrance further progress was blocked by an immense slab of stone, which, with great difficulty, was removed.

Behind the stone was a second cistern with a wide mouth, occupying nearly the whole width of the passage; this well is about 11 feet deep. In the sides the tool marks display unequivocal signs of having been formed with flint rather than with metal implements. This well contained nothing but a few potsherds of primitive types. Beyond the cistern mouth is a small doorway, about 2 feet in height, leading to a chamber just large enough to turn round in. In the east side of this chamber is a small circular hole that can, with considerable difficulty, be squeezed through, after which we find ourselves in a tortuous creep-passage, about 30 feet long. This tunnel leads to an independent system of chambers.

Of these chambers, No. 5 is partly ruined, the roof of its eastern half having fallen in about 1450 B.C. This date is determined by the level to which the superincumbent débris has been disturbed. The floor of the western half of the chamber is raised by a step about 3 feet higher than the eastern half, and in the centre of this upper level is a cup-mark. There is a third cistern excavated in the eastern part of this chamber, and in the rock-surface above were cut a number of holes, apparently intended to allow surface-water to drain through and so to find its way to the cistern. The cistern is sunk in the middle of an oblong pool, with three steps descending to it. The pool seems to have been original, the cistern being an afterthought. Its shaft is built through the earth and silt with which the pool is filled.

Chamber 6, like chamber 4, had also been entered by well-sinkers about 600 B.C., who adapted it as a reservoir, deepening its floor to a level of about 30 feet below the rock-surface—about 20 feet below its original depth. They took care, of course, to loot the contents of the adjoining chamber 5, but fortunately the fallen rock had blocked the entrance to chambers 7 and 8, so that these were untouched. The first of these chambers contained a considerable number of pottery groups, with one or two new forms, forming in all a most valuable series of contemporary types; the second was also rich in pottery and alabaster, and it likewise contained a number of gold-mounted scarabs, a fine bronze-gilt kohl pencil, several beads, slips of ivory for inlaying, and other treasures. The small passage running south of chamber 8 descends

by a rather steep slope to a long, narrow cell, just about large enough to contain a human body. There were two bronze spear-heads at the entrance to this passage, as well as a large number of jugs, but the passage and cell itself were empty.

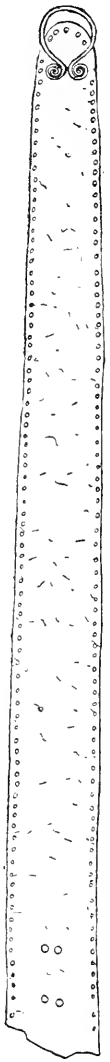
The chambers beyond 8 (9 and 10) contained nothing but potsherds, a mill-stone, and other traces of early occupation; apparently they were not adapted for sepulture. The row of stones on edge in a bay in chamber 10 is curious. The roof of 10 had fallen in. Neither did the small system proceeding south-east from 5 yield anything more important than one large jar containing a small human clavicle and two vertebræ. There is here a peculiar pit, 5 feet deep, with a hole in the roof corresponding to it.

Reserving for the full account already promised a detailed description of the entire series of "finds," we may for the present refer to Plate IV, where a selection of the most important are gathered together. These do not call for any lengthy description here. Fig. 1 is the gold armlet from chamber 2—a flexible strip, torn at one end (where are four holes for a now lost fastening); along the edge is a series of raised dots, repoussé. Fig. 2 is the gilt-bronze kohl pencil from chamber 8. Fig. 3 is a silver hairpin, and Fig. 4 a pendant crescent, also in silver, found associated with the gold armlet (Fig. 1). Fig. 5 is an ornament, consisting of a plain cylindrical bead, enamelled a green colour, with a sheath of gold at each end, set in a silver ring. This was also with the group containing the gold armlet. Fig. 6 is one of the numerous scarabs from chamber 8, important, as it seems to bear the name of Usertsen III. Fig. 7 is a remarkable vessel in black slate from chamber 8, and Fig. 8 is the fine painted jar from chamber 3.

The scarabs are all referable to the Egyptian middle empire, and while one or two might not be of much importance in dating the cemetery, their unanimous testimony may safely be accepted as demonstrating the interments to be of that period—*i.e.*, according to the majority of chronologists, about 2500 B.C.

This cave explains a circumstance which had long perplexed me, as it must have puzzled those who have followed the foregoing series of reports with care. I refer to the frequency with which middle empire scarabs have been found in the upper strata of the mound. The discovery of the cave about 600 B.C. must have let loose a flood of scarabs over the city, and the excavator has been hard pressed to explain how Usertsen I and other early scarabs

EARLY CANAANITE TOMB DEPOSITS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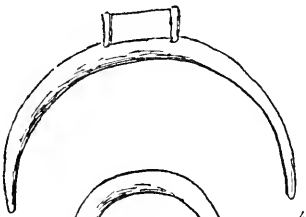
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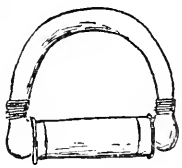
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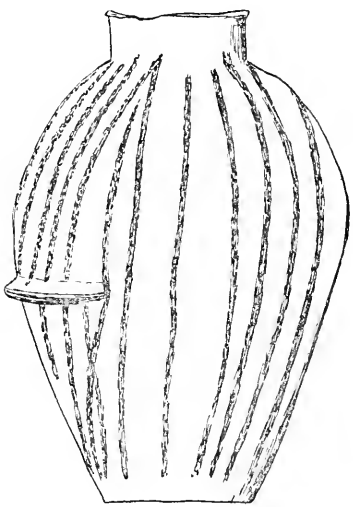

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(figs 7, 8 half the scale)

came to be associated with late débris of the Assyrian period. The explanation now put forth is reasonable and sufficient. The cave must have been extraordinarily rich before the cistern diggers found it.

The historical conclusions which these deposits indicate are of high importance. I have several times stated my suspicion that the Egyptian interference with South Palestinian, or at least Gezerite, affairs must be put back considerably earlier than the reign of Tahutmes III, who is the first monarch of whose relations with Egypt there is evidence on the Egyptian side. We now have a cemetery, thoroughly Egyptian save that the bodies are not embalmed, about a thousand years behind Tahutmes. This indicates the influence of Egyptian civilisation at that remote period.

But according to the modern school of historical critics, a quite different civilisation ought to be looked for in the débris of this period. This is that of Babylonia, the kings of which claim to have exercised dominion to the Mediterranean. This civilisation (according to those chronologists who reject the evidence of Nabona'id regarding the date of Naram-Sin) came to an end at or about the date to which we have assigned the cemetery, and some dregs, at least, of Babylonian influence might have been expected in the deposits. Nothing of the kind, however, can be recognised. We do not yet know exactly what to infer from this fact, but apparently we are shut up to three hypotheses: future discoveries must be awaited before we can choose between them—

(1) The Babylonian domination never extended so far south as Gezer.

(2) The Babylonian domination was brought to a close, not by the Semitic (Canaanite) immigration so much as by an unrecorded Egyptian conquest.

(3) Nabona'id was right after all, and the Babylonian rulers must be put back to a date earlier than the earliest débris on the mound of Gezer.

However this may be, the discovery of an early burial place with so many Egyptian objects cannot but be regarded as of peculiar importance.

§ III.—An Egyptian Statuette.

In the second stratum on the Western hill the houses were found to contain a number of circular pits sunk through the

Plate V.

Egyptian Statuette.

Palestine Exploration Fund.

underlying débris to the rock. In these pits were great quantities of broken pottery mingled with cooked sheep and goat bones; in all probability these were midden or ash pits. One or two new or unusual forms were indicated by the fragments of pottery, but, with two exceptions, nothing of especial interest was discovered in them.

The exceptions were (1) a small stone tray on three feet, probably meant for grinding grain ; and (2) an Egyptian statuette of polished grey granite.

Front and side views of the latter will be found on Plate V. It is $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and represents a man kneeling, sitting upon his heels. He wears a mantle, with embroidered border, folded over the breast and held in position by the hands, which are disproportionately large.

Over the thighs of the figure is a hieroglyphic inscription in two lines, which reads :—

Stn htp di Pth Skr n kꜣ n
N sbꜣw ʿstp wꜣḏ rʿ ib mꜣʿḫrw
(?) (?) (?)

"May Ptah Seker give a royal offering to the double of the justified, Nu-sba-ua-sotep-uat-ra-ab."

There is considerable doubt about the reading of some of the characters marked with a query, which are badly formed owing to the difficulty of working in granite.

§ IV.—Two Remarkable Tombs.

Among the works carried out during this quarter has been the opening of a pit to the east of the Troglodyte high place, described in the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1903, p. 317. The purpose of this pit was to determine whether any extension of the cup-marked rock surface, which might contain details that could assist in the solution of some of its puzzles, still remained hidden by the unexcavated earth.

The result of this work was a singular example of the complete unexpectedness that is so characteristic of the mound of Gezer. After about a week's dull and disappointing work, two graves were discovered, the contents of which raise some very interesting questions.

These graves are built vaults, about 9 feet long, 3 feet across, and 3 feet deep. They are made of small stones, covered on the inside surface with lime cement, streaked down with the fingers of the mason. The floor of one grave is the bare rock surface; the other, which is at a slightly higher level, is paved with smooth flat stones. A row of heavy cover-slabs laid across the top of the walls of the vaults, and cemented over, closes the tomb. The long axis of each tomb is east and west.

When the cover-slabs were raised, each tomb was found to contain a skeleton: the first was much decayed, but appeared to be a male, with the head pointing westward; the second, which was in rather better preservation, was a female, with the head directed towards the east. The bodies were extended, lying on the back.

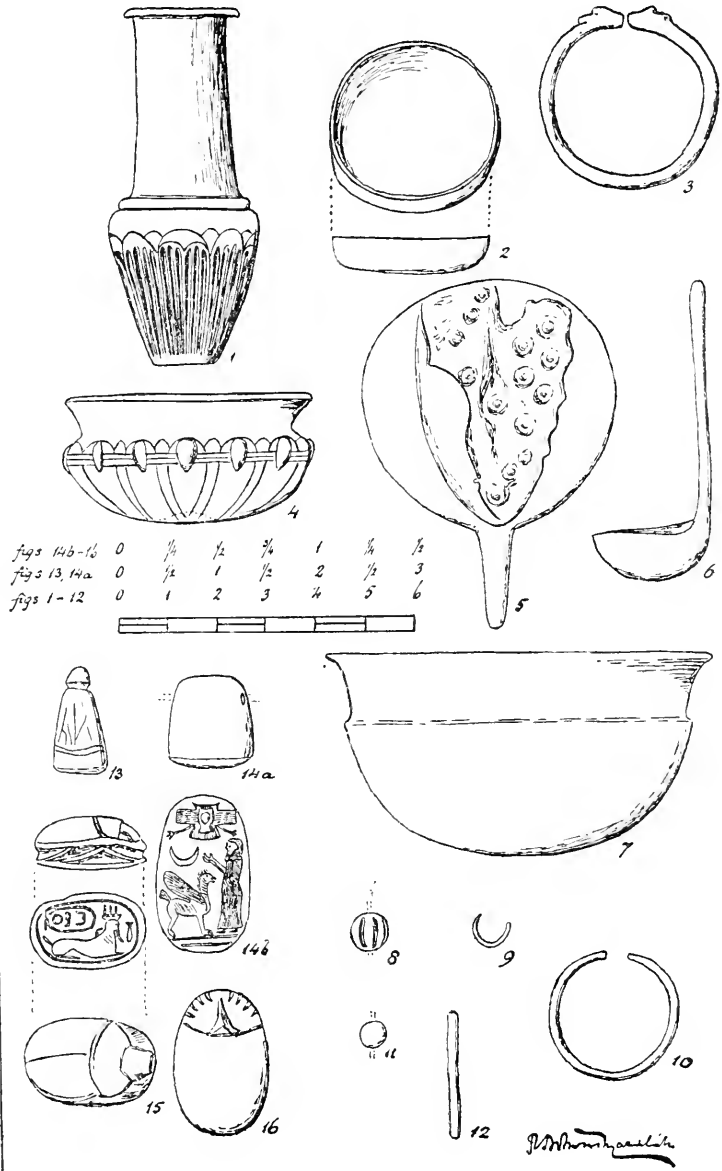
FIG. 1.—Agate Scaraboid from a Grave.

The forearms of the female were crossed over the abdomen, but the position of the male could not be accurately determined, owing to the decay of the bones.

A remarkable series of deposits were laid round the bodies. In the first grave there were some fine alabaster vessels of large and small size, at the feet and sides, as well as a delicate little vase of glass, and a fragment of a glass bottle fitting into a bone case. A beautiful agate scaraboid, with an interesting Assyrian-like design of a priest (?) holding two winged figures at arm's length, and trampling on a third, with a winged disc above (Fig. 1), and a remarkable little four-handled vessel in black pottery, were also found in the tomb.

Even richer was the deposit in the second grave, the principal objects in which will be found on Plate VI. Close to the head,

PHILISTINE (?) TOMB DEPOSITS



on the right side, was a silver vessel with fluted sides and long, cylindrical neck (Plate VI, Fig. 1); on the left side, in the upper corner, was a fine bronze bowl (Fig. 7). Lower down, on the left side, was a beautiful, though unfortunately much decayed, silver bowl, with repoussé and incuse ornamentation (Fig. 4), and in the corresponding place on the left side a bronze hand-mirror, having a bunch of grapes (?) in relief on the back (Fig. 5). On the right upper arm was a bronze bracelet (Fig. 10); on each ankle a silver anklet (Fig. 3). The bronze ladle (Fig. 6) was close to the mirror, and the small silver saucer (Fig. 2) at the feet. There were a few fragmentary vessels of alabaster, resembling those from the first tomb, but much decomposed. In sifting the earth were found a couple of beads (Figs. 8, 11), an XVIIIth dynasty scarab bearing the name of the IVth dynasty king, Men-kau-ra (Fig. 15), and a splendid Cornelian seal (Fig. 14) bearing the figure of a priest adoring a winged disc, with underneath a crescent and a sphinx.

In each tomb was a fragment of an iron knife; and in each, in addition to the human bones, were a few sheep-bones, in the first tomb at the feet, in the second at the head, of the human body.

The presence of iron in each of these tombs forbids us to date them much older than 1000 B.C., and with this date accords the evidence of the pottery and other objects in the surrounding débris. But they contrast in every possible particular with the other tombs of about this date found in the course of the investigation of the Gezerite cemeteries. They may thus be compared:—

Newly-found Graves.	Other Gezerite Tombs.
1. Interment in built vaults.	1. Interment in caves in the rock.
2. Bodies outstretched.	2. Bodies contracted.
3. Pottery practically absent.	3. Pottery abundant.
4. No religious emblems (except engravings on seals).	4. Figurines of Ashtoreth, &c., found.
5. Bodies decked in ornament.	5. No evidence of ornament on bodies.
6. Expensive deposits, such as silver vessels and large alabaster pots.	6. Silver entirely absent and alabaster meagre.
7. Food deposited with the body.	7. This practice apparently by 1000 B.C. attenuated to a symbol.
8. A hand-mirror deposited in the tomb.	8. Such an object unheard of.

These fundamental points of difference force us to the conclusion that we have here to do with the interments of an entirely different race from any with which we have dealt hitherto. The fragmentary

and rotten state of the bones is deeply to be regretted, as we have thereby lost valuable corroborative evidence of this conclusion. The objects deposited seem to me much more suggestive of the early civilisations of the west than of the south and east, and I feel it not unreasonable to ask the question, Are we, at last, in personal touch with the Philistines? The date, the exotic character of the deposits, the fundamental differences between these and the native graves, and the presence of iron, all seem to unite to make an affirmative answer not improbable. Again we must await future discoveries for confirmation or rejection of this suggestion; but for the present it may be put forward as a possible working hypothesis.

Close to the first grave described above was found the skeleton of a man of considerable stature, an interment which, though not enclosed in a vault, must be considered as belonging to the same series. The skeleton was outstretched and lying on its back. An alabaster pot, identical in character with those found in the other tombs, was close to the head. A plain gold ring, placed at the right side of the neck (perhaps a part of some pendant from a head-dress), two bronze fibulæ and a bronze pin, were found on the body. Two very peculiar details characterised this interment. The first was a thin plate of silver that had evidently been inserted between the teeth and the inside of the cheek on the right-hand side. It covered from the right canine teeth to the last molars, and was bent to follow the curve of the jaw. Such an object has never previously come within my experience, and I can only guess that it may have been a device to prevent the teeth from fretting a sore or ulcer that may have existed inside the cheek. The second detail was the presence of sheep-bones, which we have already seen to characterise the two other tombs just described. In the present instance, however, almost if not quite the entire sheep had been deposited, and it had been placed *under the knees* of the deceased.

§ V.—Buildings.

No buildings of any special interest have been unearthed during the quarter, but an extension eastwards of the excavations containing the walls, whose plan was published in the last report (*ante*, p. 197), has revealed further details in the structure. These consist of (1) the completion of the easternmost of the two circular

structures marked *f*; three other structures of similar character, further east; and at the easternmost extremity of the excavated portion, bases of columns similar to, and opposite, those marked *ee* in the plan referred to.

The objects found around this structure, when datable, are all referable to the period of Amenhotep III. The marriage scarab, for instance (*ante*, p. 186), came from this neighbourhood. Among them was a fine "Bügelkanne," which gives us a valuable point of departure for the dating of pottery decorated in this particular style. It was 7 inches high.

There is nothing special to add to the account of the foundation sacrifices mentioned in the last report.

§ VI.—A Peculiar-Marked Flint.

At the same date-level as the preceding was found a flint knife or axehead with, on one side, a hard calcareous incrustation. The

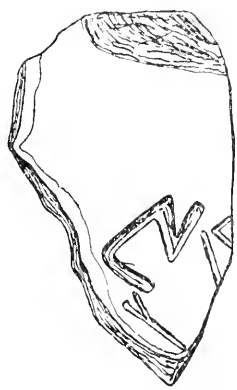


Fig. 2.—Inscribed Flint.

maximum length of the object is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the calcareous incrustation certain marks are scratched, represented faithfully in the accompanying figure (Fig. 2), in drawing which the camera lucida has been used. It is most regrettable that the flint was fractured in ancient times, and that the other half is missing, for the marks raise very curious questions that might have been completely solved had we the entire object before us.

There are three marks on the stone. The first is a Phœnician *nun*, *reversed*; the second looks like part of a *caph* in the same

alphabet, also reversed; the third, which is underneath, is a bifid scratch in finer lines, which may be the leg of a man, the horn of a stag, or the completion of almost any other design that might have been scratched on the missing half.

If this be actually an inscription in old Phœnician letters—and if not I cannot imagine what it may be—two far-reaching consequences appear to follow from the discovery. First, we learn that the Phœnician alphabet was in use 400 years before the Baal Lebanon inscriptions, hitherto the earliest specimen of the script known. Secondly, we gather that at that early date the direction of writing was left to right, or at least boustrophedon!

But the doubtfulness and fragmentary nature of the object must be fully recognised. Had we the missing portion, it might appear that the peculiar marks are merely part of some decoration. Nothing but further research can satisfactorily answer the questions which they raise.

§ VII.—Miscellaneous.

I may mention, in conclusion, three interesting objects, two of pottery and one in bronze, found in various places.

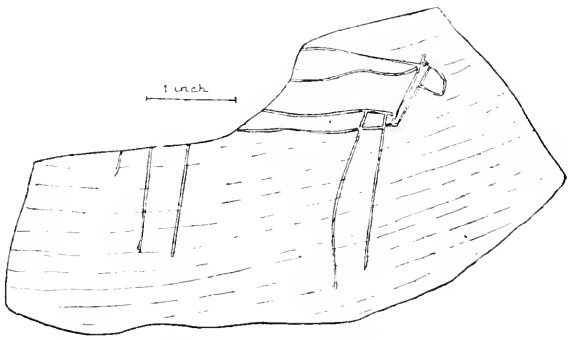


Fig. 3.—Fragment of Pottery with Inscribed Stag.

The first (Fig. 3) is the sherd of a large comb-faced vessel, bearing a mark scratched upon it. As a general rule, these marks are conventional geometrical signs; in this case it is a fairly large figure of a stag or antelope. I have already commented on the fondness of the Gezerites for representing stags in seals. The date of this object is about 2000 B.C.

The second is a large bowl (Fig. 4), found in many fragments, which had the peculiarity of having no less than 20 handles. This was slightly later in date—say about 1500–1800 B.C.

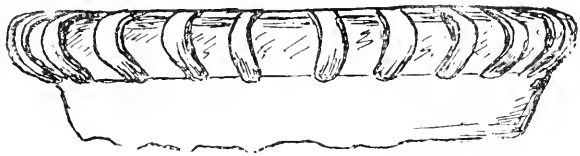


Fig. 4.—Rim of a Bowl with Twenty Handles.

The bronze object (Fig. 5), which is about the same date as the last, is a pulley. The spindle revolved on two pivots, which

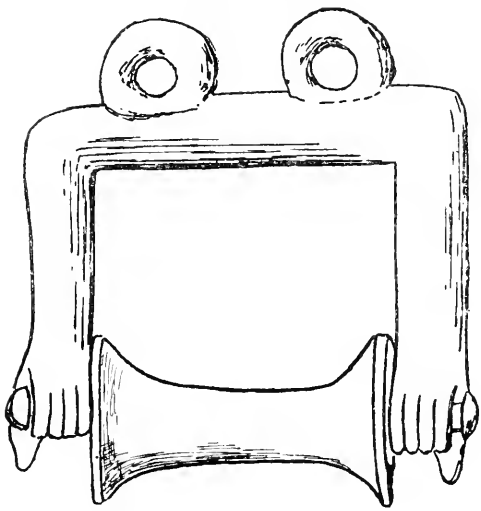


Fig. 5.—Bronze Pulley.

rotated in bronze hands at the end of an arm bent into three sides of a square. To the side opposite the spindle are attached two loops for threading a cord or rope.

§ VIII.—Conclusion.

The firman for the excavation of Gezer has lapsed, and it is now my pleasing duty to express my grateful acknowledgments to all to whose kind help and encouragement a great measure of the success that has attended the work is due.

Their Excellencies Hamdy Bey and Khalil Bey, the learned Director and Sub-Director of the Imperial Ottoman Museum, have throughout shown a personal interest in the work, and a willingness to meet the desires of the excavator, which deserves most grateful thanks.

His Excellency Yusif Pasha el-Khaldi, the distinguished ex-mayor of Jerusalem, who, it will be remembered, was for a time Government Commissioner for the excavation at the beginning of the work, has followed its developments with an enlightenment and appreciation that illustrate the well-known width of his knowledge and accomplishments, and that have been a source of great encouragement to the director of the excavation.

To Surraya Effendi el-Khaldi, the Imperial Commissioner, acknowledgments are abundantly due for the great courtesy he has invariably shown, and for his readiness to fall in with all suggestions or requests on the part of the excavator so far as his obligations to the duties of his office permitted him to do so.

The name of Mr. Dickson, the British Consul at Jerusalem, is already well known to readers of the *Quarterly Statement* as that of one deeply interested in the work of the Fund, and I here need only say that he has taken a far more than official care of the interests of the Society, and that it is largely due to him that the work has advanced with singularly few obstacles. By frequent visits to the excavations he has kept himself *au courant* with its progress, and he has been ready at any moment to put fully at the Fund's disposal his time, energies, and great knowledge and experience of the East and its ways whenever the least difficulty arose. I should also mention Mr. J. Folanga, the Vice-Consul at Jaffa, who has also on more than one occasion rendered valuable official service.

The chief difficulty of carrying out an excavation single-handed lies in the absence of counsellors when archæological problems present themselves. I have, however, been fortunate in finding friends in Jerusalem to whom I have rarely turned without enlightenment in difficulties. I cannot sufficiently express my obligations to the Dominican fathers of Saint-Étienne, especially the Rev. Pères Lagrange, Vincent, Sejanoné, and Savignac; to the Rev. Père Germer-Durand, of Notre Dame de France; and to Professors Barton, Paton, and Schmidt, the successive directors of the American School of Archæology, during the progress of the

works. These have all been ready to put their learning freely at my disposal, and have given me full access to the libraries under their control—a privilege which I have found invaluable.

Last, but by no means least, there is one to whom the Fund owes an incalculable debt. This is Mr. Serapion Murad, the administrator of the estate upon which Gezer is situated. The extent of his services can only be estimated by picturing what the difficulties of the work would have been without him. It is not too much to say that one of the greatest obstacles in the way of Palestinian exploration is the character of the natives on whose labour the explorer depends. A sophisticated savage is notoriously the most difficult of persons to deal with, and to no one does the description apply more exactly than to the Palestinian fellah. From the moment when the excavator settles down in their midst, when negotiations about the price of crops and the rate of wages involve him in a bewildering atmosphere of greed and false-swearing that it seems degrading to be associated with, to the closing day, when the breaking up of the camp collects an unmanageable crowd of sharp-eyed loafers in search of neglected odds-and-ends, he is to the village a providential windfall, to be squeezed to the farthest possible point. The villagers devote their mental energies to devising petty pilferings and to inventing ingenious tricks for extorting small sums on various pretexts, while in the background there is the omnipresent dealer seeking what he may devour. From all these troubles Mr. Murad has been a protection. He has not only put the site freely at the disposal of the excavator, but he has used his great influence with the fellahin to keep them from being unduly troublesome, and he has always been ready with advice whenever annoyances arose. Besides all these valuable services, he has done much, by keen interest in the work and by pleasant personal companionship, to lighten the solitude of camp life.

THE CRAFTSMEN'S GUILD OF THE TRIBE OF JUDAH.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A.

(*Concluded from p.* 253.)

IV.

Besides the Royal Stamps, there are a number of names on the Private Stamps which in the present section we must take into consideration. Excluding duplicates, eight such were found in Dr. Bliss's excavations in the Shephelah,[1] of which the following is a list, with conventional transliterations :—

1. לעפן א*מיץ	Of Ṣephen son of A[b?]ma'az.
2. הושע צפן	Hûsh'a son of Ṣephen.
3. לעזר חני	Of 'Azar son of Ḥaggai.
4. שבניהו עזריהו	Shebanyahu son of 'Azaryahu.
4a. שבניה עזריה	Shebaniah son of 'Azariah.
5. מנחם [ש]בנה	Menahem son of [She]baniah.
6. לנחם עבדי	Of Naḥam son of 'Abdi.
7. לרפתי יהואל	Of Raphti son of Jehual.
8. מכא * * *	* * * son of Micha.

In Nos. 3 and 5 I have adopted the certain emendations of Ganneau and Lidzbarski to the readings first published; but in No. 7 I have preferred to retain יהואל as against Ganneau's יהוכל, judging from my recollection of the original stamp, over which I spent a considerable time.

It will be seen that the order in which I have arranged these inscriptions is determined by the evident genealogical connections that can be detected between them. Two lines can be made out with the data before us—

A[b]ma'az	Ḥaggai
|	|
Ṣephen	'Azariah
|	|
Hûsh'a	Shebaniah
	|
	Menahem

[1] *Excavations in Palestine*, pp. 119–122.

and that family relationships exist between these persons and those mentioned in other handles that cannot yet be brought into a pedigree, is suggested by the cognate forms of the names Menahem and Naham. Moreover, the discovery of a seal at Jerusalem of "Haggai, servant of Shebaniah," who may well be a brother of Menahem, named after his great grandfather, indicates that important help may be looked for from Old Hebrew seals.

When we turn to the genealogical record in 1 Chron., chap. iv, not only does the name Ezrah, to which we have already referred, and which is, of course, nothing but a shortened form of Azariah, meet the eye, but we also find the name of Naham, *totidem literis*, in verse 19. Naham's parentage is not given by the Chronicler, and that of Ezrah differs; on the jar-handles he is son of Haggai, in the Chronicler he is son of Jerahmeel (adopting the correction already suggested). This discrepancy may fairly be accounted for as an omitted step in the Chronicler's pedigree if other reasons in favour of the identification present themselves.

At first sight this looks hopeless, for we search the Massoretic genealogy in vain for the names Shebaniah or Menahem. Among Ezrah's numerous family, however, a certain Ishbah is mentioned, whose name might conceivably be a corrupt or contracted form of the first of these. This identification gains in probability when we find a passage in the Greek version, omitted in the Hebrew, which gives us ground for believing that Ishbah actually had a son named Menahem. This passage, which represents verse 19 of the English version, runs thus: *καὶ υἱοὶ γυναικὸς τῆς Ἰουδὰς ἀδελφῆς Νάχαμ † καὶ Δαλειλὰ πατὴρ Κειλὰ καὶ Σωμεὼν πατὴρ Ἰωνὰν καὶ Μανὰμ † πατρὸς Κειλὰ ὁ Τάρμι καὶ Ἐσθαμωνὴ Μάχαθα.* I have obelized two words that seem wrong: the *καὶ* spoils the sense, and *πατρός* should be *πατήρ*. With these corrections the passage represents a Hebrew original that would have run thus: "And the sons of the wife of Hodiah, the sister of Naham, Daleila, father of Keilah, and Shimon, father of [Amnon ?] and *Menahem*, father of Keilah the Tarmite and Eshtemoa the Maacathite." The confusion of eye caused by the repetition of the name Keilah is no doubt responsible for the mangled form in which the passage appears in the modern Hebrew text. It is important for several reasons. It gives a useful link for connecting the family of Shimon, enumerated in the following verse, with the main stem; it explains why Keilah-ben-Menahem is called the Tarmite or Garmite (a name perhaps

derived from that of his mother)—evidently to distinguish him from his cousin Keilah-ben-Daleila; and it gives us the missing name Menahem. Now, one of the brothers of Menahem is called Eshtemoa, and he, according to verse 17, is son of Ishbah. This leads us to a Biblical genealogy, Ezrah-Ishbah-Menahem, which, at least, curiously resembles that of the jar-handles.

With the other genealogical sequence recoverable from the handles we cannot claim equal success. Hush'a, הושע, is cognate with Ishi (v. 20), ישעי, and may be equated to it; the parentage of Ishi, however, is unfortunately not given.[1] There is, however, a scrap of the *Records of the Craftsmen* inserted in the earlier part of the fourth chapter which gives the sons of Hur (the son of Caleb-ben-Hezron, according to chap. ii, 19). Here we find Hushah (without the final *'ayin*), son of Ezer, son of Abi-Etam: and though the forms are very remote, it is impossible to avoid casting a wistful glance at the identification of Abi-Etam—Ezer—Hushah with Abi-Ma'az—Ṣephen-Husha',[2] especially as this would agree with certain interesting synchronisms to be presently noted.

Of Raphti, son of Jehual, I find no trace in the Chronicler; but Micha appears in chap. iv, 21, in the Greek version in place of the Mareshah of the Massoretic text.

In the *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. i, p. 167, Professor Clermont-Ganneau has published an onyx seal having a representation of the scarab, much resembling those on the Royal Stamps in outline, though with fuller detail and with an indication added of the manure-ball in which the insect deposits its eggs. This seal bears the legend לעבד־הדד, "Of 'Abd-Hadad," and it is natural to enquire whether this particular "son of Bithiah" finds a place in the Chronicler's list. With some reservation, I venture to think it possible. The sons of Shimon, in chap. iv, 20, are called in Hebrew, Amnon, Rinnah, Ben-Hanan, and Tilon; in Greek, Amnon, Ana, Ben-Phana (or Anan), and Inon (or Thilon). Kittel queries Ben-Hanan on the ground that though it is a name theophorous in form,

[1] Ishi, son of Appaim, in chap. ii, 31, is, of course, a different person.

[2] Ezer might come from Ṣephen (צפן) by a double corruption, the פ having become ז from a misunderstanding of the damaged letters in the Old Hebrew alphabet, exactly as was suggested above in the case of Ezrah and Jerahmeel; while the צ might have slipped later, after the introduction of the square character, into the very similar letter ע. Indeed, that a scribe would "correct" צזר to עזר would be inevitable.

the element *Ḥanan* does not appear to have been a divine name; he says that if sound, the name must be a late invention formed after the model of Ben-Hadad. Is it possible that 'Abd-Hadad, or Ben-Hadad, was actually in the original genealogy, and that the copyist, who (as we have already seen) perhaps meddled with the name of Bithiah, may have made another modification here, in a well-meant endeavour to expurgate heathenism from the records of the chosen people? The form Ḥanan might have been suggested not only by its own propitious meaning, but also by the redundant nasals of the names of the three other sons of Shimon.

It would be interesting to examine any other seals which bear the device of the flying scarab to see whether any further identifications suggest themselves. At present I can refer to two only. One is a small impression in wax, found in Tell el-Judeideh, inscribed * * נ לשמר. The unfortunate fracture that has carried away the end of the patronymic prevents our saying more than that this Shemer may have been a son of Naham. The other is a seal, now in the British Museum, that was figured on the last page of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1900. The inscription in this case is לאליען,[1] for which also we look in vain in the Chronicler's list.

I may at this point anticipate an objection that may fairly be brought against the foregoing reasoning. It may be argued that chap. iv, 23, specifying the royal potters, refers to certain persons of the clan of Shelah, son of Judah, whose catalogue commences with verse 21, and that all the preceding matter has no radical connection with the craftsmen. But I would answer by requiring my opponent to show proof that this Shelah, son of Judah, is really the patriarch of that name, and not a son of the *Hodiah* mentioned in verse 19. This equation makes the whole passage and the genealogy continuous.

After copying out the names of the family of Shelah, the Chronicler seems to have found the rest of his authorities illegible, and contented himself with noting what he could decipher. That there was much of which he could make nothing may be inferred from the complaint with which he closes his list—"and the records are ancient!" This, as we have seen, is an adequate reason for the corruptions in the forms of the names that, with the help of the stamped jar-handles, we have endeavoured to detect.

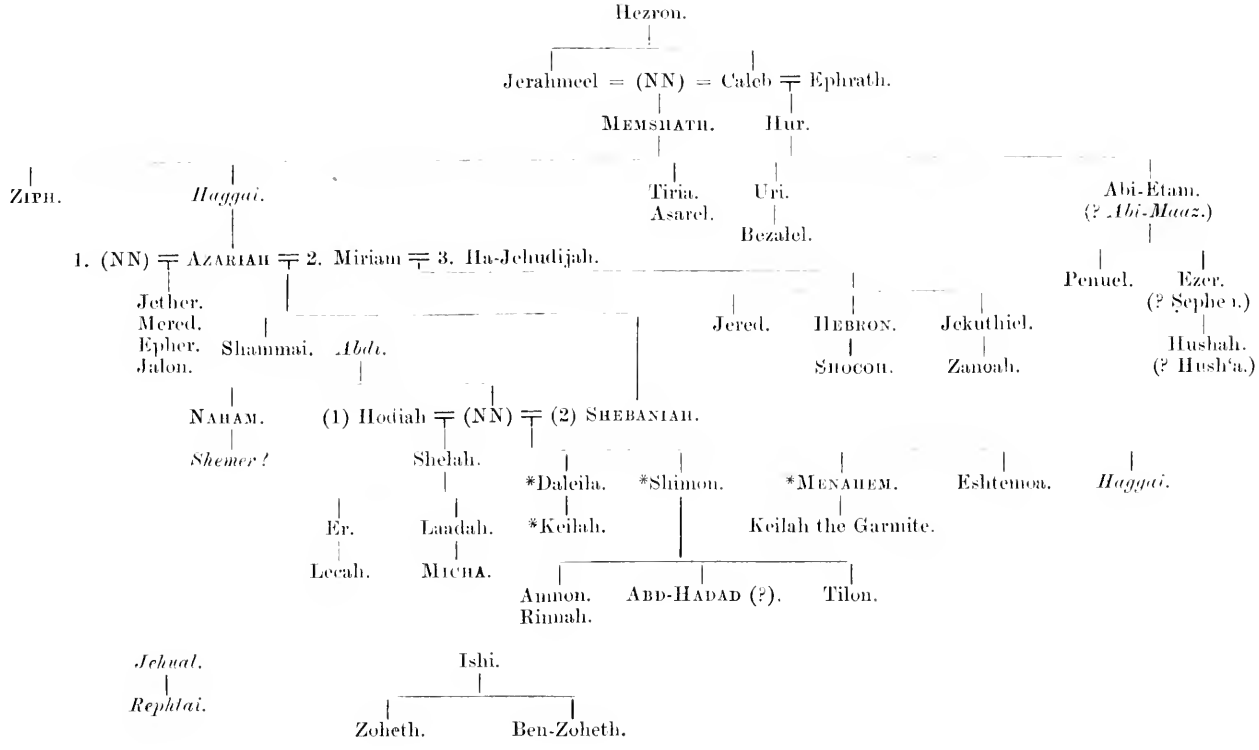
[1] [Or perhaps אליעם.]

A few guesses regarding the names at the end of the list may be adventured. "The house of them that wrought fine linen" (בית־עבדת הבץ) may refer to another branch of activity followed by the craftsmen; or it may be a corruption of Obed-Thebez (עבד־תבץ), which is perhaps a not impossible theophorous name, literally meaning "servant of brightness." Passing over *Ashbea* and *Jokim*, may we see in *Cozeba* and *Saraph* names denoting trade-marks? כזבא might be meant for כוכב, "a star," and refer to the stars or rosettes found in the ornamental stamps on the jar-handles; while שרף might mean here, as everywhere else, a serpent, and refer to the concentric circles (possibly a conventionalised snake) sometimes impressed upon them. *Joash* recalls יושבי, which I read on a jar-handle from Gezer; but the reading has been disputed.

This analysis that we have now finished enables us to display in tabular form the complete genealogy of the family with which we are concerned. In the following table, names found in the Chronicler only are printed in small type, without distinguishing mark. Those restored from the Greek versions are denoted by an asterisk, those restored from the jar-handles are printed in italics, and those found in both the Chronicler and the jar-handles in capitals. For the sake of clearness, most of Caleb's family enumerated in chap. ii, 18–28, are omitted. In the majority one form of each name only is given. The abbreviation NN denotes an unknown name (*see* p. 333).

V.

In the foregoing analysis I have assumed without question that the names with which I have had to deal are those of persons rather than tribes and communities. That town, district, and tribal names are sometimes treated as though they are the names of individuals is, of course, unquestionable; but I venture to think that this is not so common as some scholars have tried to make out. I have treated, for example, Jerahmeel and Caleb as two brothers, not as two cognate tribes. That there were such tribes, I make no doubt; but in the fragments I have endeavoured to bring together and have named the *Records of the Craftsmen*, they find no place according to the theory I have attempted to develop. No one can doubt that the names on the jar-handles are those of individuals. If the parallels I have drawn between these names and those found


Hezron.
Jerahmeel = (NN) = Caleb = Ephrath.
Memshath.
Hur.
Ziph.
Haggai.
Tiria.
Asarel.
Uri.
Bezalel.
Abi-Etam.
(? Abi-Maaz.)
1. (NN) = Azariah = 2. Miriam = 3. Ha-Jehudijah.
Penuel.
Ezer.
(? Sephe i.)
Jether.
Mered.
Epher.
Jalon.
Shammai.
Abdi.
Jered.
Hebron.
Jekuthiel.
Hushah.
(? Hush'a.)
Shocoh.
Zanoah.
Naham.
(1) Hodiah = (NN) = (2) Shebaniah.
Shemer?
Shelah.
*Daleila.
*Shimon.
*Menahem.
Eshtemoa.
Haggai.
Er.
Laadah.
*Keilah.
Keilah the Garmite.
Lecah.
Micha.
Amnon.
Rinnah.
Abd-Hadad (?).
Tilon.
Jehuel.
Rephtai.
Ishi.
Zoheth.
Ben-Zoheth.

in Chronicles be not merely a series of curious coincidences, the same names must in the Chronicler also denote individuals; and so must those which denote persons in family relationship to them.

That this is the case results further from the dates indicated by the chronology of the jar-handles, which, whatever their exact period may be (a point we shall presently discuss), must belong to the Hebrew monarchy—as is proved by the contents and palæography of their inscriptions and the dateable remains found in association with them. It follows from this that the names in the Chronicler do not (as is usually assumed) belong to the remote age when the tribal system of the Israelites was being developed, but to a period too late to permit us to expect details regarding the migrations and fusions of clans on the foundation of new cities. Hebron, Keilah, Eshtemoa, Gedor, were all founded long before the lifetime of the persons said in our genealogies to be their "father": whence it follows that "father of [for instance] Hebron" must mean either chief sheikh of the town Hebron, or physical father of a son named Hebron. That the formula is used in both senses is clear, even in the few verses with which I have been specially concerned. Though all the other quasi-local names in these verses are really, according to my view, names of persons, there is one which is probably territorial.

This is Gedor, whose "father" was Jered, brother of Hebr[on]. His predecessor in the office (whatever its exact nature may have been) was Penuel, mentioned in chap. iv, 4. This village seems to have been one of the headquarters of the family, as we now proceed to show.

In chap. iv, 23, the family is spoken of as "the men of Netaim and Gederah" (the marginal reading may safely be rejected), and in the ruins of these cities, wherever they may have been, the rest of the genealogy lies hidden. For the identification of the first of these places no suggestions have been made. The second is equated to *Khurbet Jedîreh* in the Fund survey, and I only wish that there was the faintest possibility that this identification could hold; for as that site is only 40 minutes' walk from Gezer, I might, in that case, expect a fine harvest of stamped jar-handles from the Gezer excavations. However, the identification is quite out of the question, for Khurbet Jedîreh is altogether a Roman site, and contains no remains of earlier date. The true site must be sought nearer Tell Zakarîya and Tell el-Judeideh, the localities which yielded stamped jar-handles

in greatest numbers; indeed, I have felt tempted to suggest that the unidentified Tell el-Judeideh itself may be Gederah. Failing this, one may provisionally suggest Khurbet Jedûr, north of Hebron, where the Survey *Memoirs* mention "foundations, walls, caves, and cisterns, remains of an ancient road, a spring to the north, and a large tree in the ruins. The ruins stand on a kind of tell." About six miles north-west of this is Khurbet Niâteh, where are "foundations, cisterns, and the stones of an olive-press." Though always suspicious of identifications resting on similarity of ancient and modern names, I put forward these *à priori* possible, and in agreement with the archæological and historical evidence. Khurbet Jedûr has already been identified with *Gedor*, a village or town mentioned in the survey of the tribe of Judah, Josh. xv, 58. The place names Gederah and Gedor are easily confused, and though there was also a Judahite village called Gederah in the lowland (Josh. xv, 36), the distribution of the jar-handles requires us to localise the potters in the Hebron district.

Later, in chap. iv, Gedor reappears in a curious passage that for our present purpose is of great importance. Verses 39–41 describe a razzia, made in the reign of Hezekiah by certain of the wild semi-nomadic tribe of Simeon under a number of leaders who are mentioned by name upon the rich pasture-lands of Gedor. Two curious points call for notice in this narrative.

The first is the extraordinary statement that the Simeonites found Gedor peaceful, "for they that dwelt there aforetime were of Ham" (מִן־חָם). This seems a very inadequate reason for peacefulness; we might have expected it to have had the exact contrary effect. But the insertion of a missing *mim* would make the passage much more intelligible. If we read מִמְּנַחֵם, and translate "they that dwelt there aforetime were of [the race of] Menahem," we gather that the family of Menahem was a peaceful, unwarlike clan of artificers who could offer no resistance to the marauding Simeonites.

This theory assumes that the family of craftsmen derived their descent from an eponymous ancestor after whom the Menahem and the Naham, which we have found named on their handiwork, were called. For such an assumption there is some corroboration. Being residents in the Hebron district, no doubt they owned, as the ultimate founder of their family, Caleb-ben-Jephunneh, and probably our Caleb-ben-Hezron was named in his honour. Now we find among the descendants of Caleb-ben-Jephunneh, at the end of 1 Chron. ii,

two references to a sept called the Menuhoth, or Manahathites. The origin of this ethnic, which once reappears (1 Chron. viii, 6), has never, so far as I know, been satisfactorily determined, and I offer the suggestion that they are no other than the craftsmen whom we have been studying.

Secondly, we must enquire who are the Meunim, destroyed by the Simeonites (iv, 41), according to the reading of the *Ḳerî* followed by the Revised Version. This ethnic is derived from the place name מעון, Ma'ôn. There are two places of this name referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures, one in Arabia, or East of the Dead Sea, whose inhabitants are mentioned (as "Meunim") in 2 Chron. xxvi, 7; the other in the neighbourhood of Hebron, and thus in the country of the craftsmen. It is quite possible that this Maon may have been the original home of the sept, and that after they had settled in Gedor and Netaim they continued to be known as the Meunim or Maonites, just as some of my own workmen from El-Kûbat and Abû Shûsheh, though settled for a generation or two in their present homes, are still spoken of as "the northerner" or "the Egyptian."

In 2 Chron. xxvi, 10, King Uzziah is described as one who "loved husbandry," and mention is made of an agricultural and vine-growing establishment which he maintained *in Carmel* (marginal reading). This Carmel is, of course, not the sea-coast hill-range of that name, but the fertile district near Maon, where, in earlier days, Nabal the Maonite had his property (1 Sam. xxv, 2).

Now, there is in the Louvre a well-known seal of *scarab* form, bearing the figure of a man clad in a long tunic on one face, and on the other two *winged discs* (a device often found on the jar-handles in place of the four-winged scarab) between which is the legend שבניו עבד עזיו "Shebanyaû servant of 'Uzzyaû." The formula is comparable with that of the Jeroboam seal recently found at Tell Mutasellim, and suggests the hypothesis that the עזיו (=עזיה) here mentioned is King Uzziah himself; and it is reasonable to equate his servant Shebaniah with the Shebaniah whom we have already seen to have belonged to a family under royal patronage, domiciled in the very district where Uzziah maintained an establishment,[1] and employing Egyptian emblems as a kind of coat-of-arms.

[1] The name of one of David's "mighty men" is called Hezro[n], the Carmelite (1 Chron. xi, 37), indicating that the name was localised in the district from early times.

Clearly, if this identification can be corroborated, we will have a very important criterion for dating the other seals and handles belonging to the same family; and I think I can show that there are several indications witnessing to its soundness. We may first notice, as minor points, that Shebaniah's connection with the king sufficiently accounts for the discovery of his son Haggai's seal at Jerusalem, and also for the circumstance that his daughter 'Amdyahu had a seal of her own—a privilege probably enjoyed by comparatively few women.[1]

The following chronological table will be found useful at this stage of the discussion:—

B.C.	
837.	Accession of *Joash* (reigned 40 years).
c. 827.	Repair of the temple commenced.
c. 817.	Death of Jehoiada and apostasy of Joash.
798.	Death of Joash, accession of *Amaziah* (reigned 9 [?] years).[2]
790.	Death of Amaziah, accession of *Uzziah* (reigned 52 years).
c. 750.	Uzziah smitten with leprosy: *Jotham* regent (reigned in all 16 years).
c. 736.	Death of Uzziah. Jotham sole king for about 2 years.
734.	Death of Jotham. *Ahaz* king (reigned 16 years).
c. 725.	Ahaz introduces the worship of Syrian deities.
719.	Death of Ahaz. *Hezekiah* king (reigned 29 years).
c. 705.	Razzia of the Simeonites on Gedor in Hezekiah's reign.

The first point to notice is that Uzziah's agricultural pursuits and his supposed patronage of Shebaniah must be referred to the first part of that king's long reign, before his leprosy drove him into retirement. Shebaniah must, therefore, have flourished about 790–750 B.C.

In attempting to date the genealogical predecessors and successors of Shebaniah from this fixed point, it must be remembered that the comparatively early age of marriage in the East makes the 30 years usually allowed as the average duration of Western generations excessive. The allowance I have here made is 25 years, and even that is probably over rather than under the proper figure. On this basis, reckoning backwards, we gather that Azariah might well belong to the last days of Joash. Ziph could have been born about the time of the restoration of the Temple, at which date

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1902, p. 265.

[2] According to Wellhausen's conjectural emendation of the "29 years" of the Book of Kings.

Memshath would be in his prime. Reckoning forwards, Shimon the son of Shebaniah might have been born about the time when Uzziah's disease overtook him, and his son, 'Abd-Hadad, about five and twenty years afterwards, *exactly when Ahaz was introducing the worship of the Syrian deities*. There was no more suitable time in the history of the monarchy for the birth of a person so named.

If the reader will examine the genealogical table given on the preceding page, he will notice that there is an entire generation—that of Azariah—during which the potters do not stamp "royal" seals with the scarabæus. After Ziph, the symbol is not used officially till it is revived by Shebaniah's younger brother Hebron. This interruption may possibly be due to the influence of the upright kings, Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham. The scarab may have been used under royal patronage by Memshath, at the end of his life, which fell in the time of Apostasy in the latter part of Joash's reign, and continued by his son Ziph under the same auspices. When Amaziah came to the throne he may have prevented his servants from employing the emblem in works executed under his patronage, and the prohibition would hardly be removed till the accession of Ahaz. The close of the life of Shebaniah's younger brother Hebron, and the chief activity of the latter's son Shocoh, would be contemporary with this backsliding monarch. This argument dates the Memshath and Ziph handles in 817–798, and the Hebron and Shocoh stamps in 734–719. Of course, the occurrence of the symbols on the seal of Shebaniah is an objection to this theory, but the objection can be met by supposing that the righteous kings, while preventing the public use of the symbols under their patronage, did not, or could not, prevent their private use by their subordinates.

By a curious coincidence a seal came to light (probably in Jerusalem) at about the same time as the Jeroboam seal from Tell el-Mutasellim, and bearing the same name in the same connection. This read "Belonging to Sham'a, servant of the king." We may perhaps connect this with the Shammai (who has by some accident lost his *ayin*), the elder brother of Shebaniah. It will not escape notice that one of the sons of Shebaniah had a cognate name, *Eshtemo'a*.

The nature of the service which the house of Shebaniah owed to the king was probably the stewardship of his Carmel estates. Perhaps this is what is meant by the expression בבילאבתו,

translated "for his work" in chap. iv, 23. This is the more ordinary meaning, but it might also signify "with his property," which in this connection would give slightly better sense. (Compare the Greek version, *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ*.)

It is significant that the family appears first to come into royal notice in the early part of the reign of Joash, when the great public work of the Temple repair would naturally bring the best workmen in the country into personal contact with the king. Memshath may well have been one of these. And in all probability a greater than Memshath was employed on the same work, no other than the famous Bezalel, son of Uri.

Bezalel is in Hebrew tradition what Wayland Smith is in Scandinavian and Gobhán Saor in Irish legend. I have no doubt that all three were equally historical personages whose consummate skill in their craft seemed even to their contemporaries a thing uncanny, and whose fame, handed from mouth to mouth, was in later ages so magnified that it seemed fitting to push them back to the dim beginnings when the natural and the supernatural came into closest contact.[1] The tradition that Bezalel was employed by Moses in the making of the Tabernacle has no literary authority older than the Chronicler, as it is found only in the latest parts of the Book of Exodus. Its historic basis is probably the employment of Bezalel in directing the work of Joash's restoration of the Temple. That there is but one step in the pedigree from Memshath, and three from Bezalel, to Caleb, is, of course, a serious difficulty in the way of this explanation; but it is, perhaps, possible to suppress one of the ancestors of Bezalel. Either the very similar names חור Ḥûr and אורי Ûri may be doublets, or the latter may be not a name but part of an appellation of Bezalel himself—בן־אורי[ם] "son of revelations"—a name referring to the apparently inspired nature of his cunning workmanship.

VI.

It will be noticed that by this chronological scheme the genealogy in all its branches stops short just at the time of Hezekiah, when the razzia of the Simeonites took place. In conclusion, we may note what seem to have been the subsequent developments.

[1] That legends rapidly gather round the name of a distinguished man is illustrated by the extraordinary development of the Cromwell myth among the Irish peasantry.

In chap. iv, 42, we read that certain persons concerned, after the razzia, captured and occupied territory in Mount Seir. These persons are said to be of the Simeonites by what has every appearance of being an unfortunate gloss that has crept into the text and spoilt the sense. Removing the words מן־בני שמעון ("even of the sons of Simeon") it becomes clear that the five hundred who seized on Mount Seir were not Simeonites but the dispossessed natives of Gedor who survived the Simeonite raid. As testimony in favour of this view, it may be noticed that the leaders of the five hundred were the four sons of Ishi, a name not found in the Simeonite genealogies, but, as we have already seen in evidence, in the pedigree of the craftsmen. More probably the four persons named are Ishi's grandsons: his sons mentioned in chap. iv, 20, had different names. If the identification of Ishi with Hushah (which, with many misgivings, I suggested above) be sound, the grandsons of this person would be in their prime in the days of Hezekiah, which is just what the story requires.

Here, then, is an explanation of the otherwise utterly unintelligible clause in chap. iv, 22, "the men . . . . who had dominion in Moab." And it can hardly be an accident that Manahath and Moab come close together in chap. viii, 6–8, though as the meaning of this passage is still a hopeless enigma, we cannot expect at present to learn much from it, save a curious and unexpected picture of inter-tribal disunion, for which the more formal histories do not prepare us. Judah seems to take certain Benjamites prisoner, while Simeonites in their turn invade the territory of Judah.

Until the captivity, nothing more of the craftsmen is heard in the records of Judah; they seem to have settled permanently in their newly acquired Moabite or Edomite territory, and to have prospered in a sort of semi-independence. The "return to Bethlehem," if that be what Jashubi-lehem in chap. iv, 22, implies, probably took place after the exile. But this part of the history is still very obscure.

In any case, we gather from Ezra and Nehemiah that an important family called Pahath-Moab was much in evidence in Jerusalem and its district in the years following the return of the Jewish captives. This name means "Governor of Moab," and a comparison has already been suggested by Smend[1] between this name and the

[1] Quoted in *Encyclopædia Biblica* under the word *Pahath Moab*.

passage relating to Moabite dominion, chap. iv, 22. The writer in *Encyclopædia Biblica* seems to me, if I do not misjudge him, to be rather doubtful of the soundness of the comparison; but I venture to think there are reasons for accepting it. Pahath-Moab was divided into two branches, called respectively the houses of Jeshua and Joab. In Jeshua we can hardly be wrong in recognising Ishi, whose children led the expedition to Mount Seir; and as for Joab, though his name is not to be found in the genealogies, it is at least curious that "Atroth of the house of Joab,"[1] and "half of the Manahathites" are coupled together as sons of Salma, a sept of Caleb-ben-Jephunneh, in chap. ii, 54. In Ezra, chap. x, 30, occurs a list of those of the family who had taken foreign wives; in this list occurs a second person bearing the rare name Bezalel, which may have been a characteristic appellation in the family; and if the Joab of Ezra, chap. viii, 9, be the founder of the Joab branch of the family, his representative, Obadiah, son of Jehiel, bears a name and patronymic that might be restored from the jar-handles.

It is possible that one form of the Greek text may indicate the direction in which Joab is to be sought. In chap. iv, 21, for "And the sons of Ishi; Zoheth and Ben-Zoheth," which in itself looks suspicious, we read *καὶ υἱοὶ Σεελ, Ζωὰρ καὶ υἱοὶ Ζωάβ*, which may indicate an original that ran "And the sons of Jeshua were Zoheth and the sons of *Joab*."[2] This would make the Joab branch merely a subordinate sept of the main stem.

I am conscious that the foregoing paper is little but a string of conjectures, but I think they will be allowed to "hang together," and make a coherent whole. If they stand criticism they may claim to have shed some light on a few of the most difficult passages in the whole of the historical portion of the Bible. Without the clue afforded by the stamped jar-handles, this would have been impossible,

[1] Atroth may be taken either (*a*) as a place-name, which I prefer, or (*b*) as a common noun, "crowns." The "crowns of the house of Joab" would in this case mean the rulers or governors of that clan. But to my judgment this interpretation seems strained.

[2] It might also be suggested that there is some confusion between *Joab*, יואב, and the similar-looking name יאיר, *Jair*, a grandson of Hezron, "who had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead," according to 2 Chron., ii, 22. This, however, is open to the obvious objection that the Chronicler has here for a moment gone back to Hezron, grandson of Judah, as is proved by the reference to Machir, father of Gilead, just before, and consequently this Jair has nothing to do with the family under discussion.

and herein may lie an answer to a complaint I have sometimes heard against the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund—that however useful to the archæologist or anthropologist it may be, it makes no direct appeal to the Biblical student.

Notes added in the Press.

1. The "torn or worn" places assumed above (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 242, Fig. 1) should, perhaps, for clearness, have been more definitely indicated. The first is supposed to carry off the ר of "Jerahmeel"; the second removes the left-hand upright of the ח and the stem of the בּ, leaving nothing but the two little "teeth" on the left hand of the latter letter. These develop into the לֵל of "Jehallelel."

2. The discrepancy in the length of the three lines of Hebrew on p. 251 is apparent rather than real, being due to the preponderance of broad letters in line 2 and of slender letters in line 1. In point of fact, they practically contain the same number of letters. As the letters in the Old Hebrew alphabet are more nearly of uniform breadth than the square Hebrew characters, the difference in the length of the lines would not be found in the MS. from which the Chronicler was by hypothesis copying.

3. When speculating as to the personality of Joab, the ancestor of one branch of Pahath-Moab, I somehow missed 1 Chron. iv, 14, which not only solves the problem at once, but is a valuable corroboration of the deductions set forth in the preceding papers. Here we read *Seraiah begat Joab the "father" of the Valley of Craftsmen: for they were craftsmen.* This must be a different valley from the Benjamite Ge-haharashim mentioned in Nehemiah xi, 35: it is probably the valley entered by the Simeonites (ch. iv, 39). Unfortunately the connections between Joab and the rest of the genealogy are missing; evidently the fragment is inserted on account of the name Seraiah immediately preceding, which, however, must denote a quite different individual. It does not even appear whether the preceding part of the same verse, *and Meonothai begat Ophrah*, really belongs to this connection. It is tempting to see in Meonothai, מעונתי, some sort of corruption of Meunim, מעונים.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. Stewart Macalister, M.A., F.S.A., and E. W. G. Masterman, F.R.C.S., F.R.G.S.

A HISTORY OF THE DOINGS OF THE FELLAḤÎN DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, FROM NATIVE SOURCES.[1]

Part I.

The Manners and Customs of the Fellaḥîn during the Domination of the Sheikhs.

After the departure of the French soldiers in the year 1798, the inhabitants of Palestine returned to the condition of guerilla warfare in which they had previously been from time immemorial, especially to the state of endless quarrel between the *Ḳais* and the *Yaman*, of which an account occurs further on. The fighting always took place in accordance with the will of the sheikhs of the various districts, who were quite irresponsible, so that between them the country was reduced to great poverty. The land was allowed to lie waste, no one cultivating it. Villages when captured by the rival faction were thoroughly plundered. All property was insecure—the rich of one day became the poor of the next. It was quite common to see people shoeless, and even naked. On one occasion, when the Sheikh of *Banî Ḥârith* wished to attack the *Banî Ḥamîr* to the west of his territory, his army, 400 strong, had not one shoe among them, except one man who had a single sandal.

The poverty was reflected in the scarcity and purchasing power of money. Land that now sells for more than 1,000 piastres could then be bought for 20. A *roṭl* (about 5 lbs.) of rice cost 30 paras, $2\frac{1}{2}$ roṭls of wheat likewise 30 paras, a roṭl of meat 6 paras, and a

[1] The materials from which these accounts are made are Arabic manuscripts, inspired and collected by the late Rev. John Zeller. A great deal has been omitted, as having been published elsewhere. In the Introductory part the past tense is used throughout, as it is written with special reference to the period, now happily past, of the Sheikh government. Many of the customs described, however, if not most, have survived, with but little modification, to the present time.—[R. A. S. M. and E. W. G. M.]

jar of oil 25 piastres. The unit adopted in counting money was not the piastre, as now, but the *zalatah* of 30 paras, or three-quarters of a piastre. The coins then in use were (i) the *wazari*, a coin weighing 7 drachms of silver, reckoned at 5 *zalat*; (ii) the *zalatah*, a silver coin of 4 drachms weight, reckoned at 30 paras; (iii) the *nakishlah* or *hamîdan*, of 3 drachms; (iv) the *'ashrawîyah*, of a half drachm, worth 50 paras (now 10 paras); (v) the *mahmûdi*, of 3 drachms: (vi) the *ḳuṭ'a*, or *nasri*, one half of the *'ashrawîyah*. The latter coin was the commonest. In gold there were the *jahad eṭ-ṭary* (a flexible coin) worth 91 *zalat*, and the *jahad el-ghâbis*, worth 80; the *fundukli*, worth 4 *zalat*: and the *'adili*, worth 12. The reckoning in zalat was abolished by Ibrahim Pasha, who introduced the piastre currency at 40 paras to the piastre: he introduced the *ghâri* coins in two types, one worth 20, the other worth 24 piastres, and the *ghazi*, also worth 20 piastres.

The military was divided into six groups. The most important were the Janissaries, who were possessed of great power in Constantinople. Next came the Arnaout or Albanians, then the Mughârbi, the Suleimaniyah, the Dillateyeh, and the Hawâra.

Each year a governor, the Wali esh-Sham, came to Damascus and gave to every sheikh of the surrounding districts a suit of sheikh's robes—a robe of honour—and his orders, that is, the commands of the government. The sheikhs then guaranteed the taxes due from their several districts. These were allotted according to the sizes of the villages, the largest paying 500 zalat, while others gave 200, 150, or what not. A similar official came to Jerusalem for the same purpose.

If, however, the sheikhs refused to pay, it was almost impossible to force them, so that there were many districts that paid no taxes to the government. Mounted soldiers, when sent to these defaulting villages, would find them deserted and empty. Sometimes, however, the sheikhs used to lie in wait for the Wali when on his way to Jerusalem, and bribe him to put horsemen at their disposal to fight their own private or tribal enemies. Thus, in one year a certain sheikh would be able to carry all before him; in the next, his rival might (by approaching the Wali first, and by paying money to engage the services of some of the irregular horsemen) be put in a position to turn the tables upon him. A victory usually was followed by looting and the capture of the women, who might later be ransomed, or if not, be married off in the victor's village.

In fighting, the opposing parties dug trenches for their protection, and then fired from behind the ramparts at one another. Sometimes an attempt was made to carry the enemy's ramparts by a rush. It was understood all over the country that the person of a woman was respected, and women were never killed unless by accident. Women,[1] accordingly, often preceded the one army, in order to spy out the refuge places of the other. It was also common, on account of this prejudice against killing[2] a woman, for a man to use his wife as a rampart, standing behind her and firing over her shoulder or from between her feet. The enemy often asked of the women of the opposing army drink or food, and invariably obtained it; indeed, it was not unknown for men in the opposing armies to send by their wives their tobacco-pipes to one another, as a friendly mutual attention. The signal for surrender was the waving of a white flag mounted on a gun, the bearer calling out in a loud voice, *yā karīm, yā nās* ("O generous, O people!") many times. Immediately on this signal being given, firing ceased, and often the people stood up without fear, acquaintances on the opposing sides greeted one another, shaking hands and congratulating one another on their safety, and then each side returned chanting *yā karīm* to its own villages. The struggle, however, might be renewed the very next day and continue for years.

The standard of the Yaman faction was a banner of white calico; that of the Ḳais was red. The latter also clothed in red.

While the country was thus divided into Ḳais and Yaman, the villages were divided into *ḥamūl*, that is, families. These were powerful in proportion to the number of their members; the strongest families appointed the sheikhs. The members of these families all stood together, joining to avenge wrong done to any individual of their number, and bearing in common any fine or penalty that any one of them may have incurred. The sheikh was first recognised by the people, and by accumulation of bribes and other emoluments, in time collected enough money to secure his

[1] "One of us happening to say that probably there would be no harm that day, because we had seen that the women were out with the men—'Are the women out?' said Sheikh Hamdân; 'then, depend upon it, that means fighting.'" —Finn's *Stirring Times*, p. 318.

[2] Finn, however (*ibid.*, p. 298), mentions passing, in 1853, the scene of such a fight, in which five women had been killed.

recognition by the government as well. The office generally was hereditary.

The Dress of the People.—The men wore (i) the *thôb*, a shirt of coarse cotton reaching from the neck to the feet, and the *'abu ṣûf*, or woollen *'abu*, a cloak either natural white, or coloured with the natural white and black colours of the wool. It was also sometimes coloured with wool dyed blue. A girdle called a *sharabah* was worn; it was made of red leather. It was considered shameful to dress in the garments affected by the town dwellers, viz., in the *ḳumbâz*, *ṣidriyah* or waistcoat, and especially in *libâs* or drawers. Shoes were worn only in the village itself or in the towns, and dispensed with in the fields or in war. The beard was never shaved: a common form of oath was, "If I break my word I shall shave my beard," or sometimes "half my beard" (that is, one side).

Women wore a *thôb*, either in the natural white colour or dyed blue, made either of linen, silk, or cotton mixed with silk. The length of the cloth was 2 or 3 inches over the height of the wearer. The garment had long sleeves, touching the ground. Over the head was a veil of the same material as the *thôb*, called *ḥirkah* or *shenbar*, reaching to the ground behind. This was red or black in colour. Silver bracelets, necklaces, and chains hanging in front of the breast were worn as ornaments; to the ends of the chains were suspended pieces of silver, generally wazaris or old Spanish dollars (*reâl abû 'amûd*). Coins were also worn upon the head; the richer women might have a hundred dollars or more, the poorer perhaps a hundred wazaris.

Food and Drink.—Pure water alone was drunk. The staple food was bread—of wheat, barley, or maize. Various vegetables were cooked—lentils, vetches, beans, vegetable marrow, egg-plant, &c. The best food was meat with rice, pigeons, and fowls.

The cooking vessels were of two kinds: the *ḳidr*, which was made principally at El-Jib, was round, with wide mouth and handles on each side, and was of universal use; and the *ḳidr* or *dist*, of brass, a vessel of large capacity, employed on special occasions, such as marriages, feasts, the coming of guests, &c. The food was served in wooden vessels of various sizes, hawked and sold by itinerant merchants. The largest size, called *ḥâṭiyeh*, was used for kneading dough; the middle, called *ḳarmiyeh*, for the common family dish; the smallest, called *ḥenâbeh*, for individuals, especially guests.

There was also a brass dish called *minsaf*, used by Bedawîn for receiving guests. Spoons at the time were unknown, except among the greatest sheikhs, who sometimes took a pride in using them.

The Daily Labour.—For the men this consisted in ploughing, vineyard dressing, and tending flocks; even in times of fighting there were generally some who continued to follow these pursuits. The women had to bring firewood from the thickets (carrying them in long bundles on their heads) and, in the spring, grass for the cattle; fetch water in earthen jars or skins, and grind the various kinds of grain in mills, of which there was one in every house (in the Nâblus district there were also water mills). The women had also to cook, sew, sweep and wash the house. It was considered a disgrace for men to engage in any of these labours. All, of course, were quite illiterate; there was scarcely one in a village who could read. From this cause the people were extraordinarily credulous, and would believe any fable.

Marriage Customs.—The bride was nearly always sought for the bridegroom from among his own kin. When a suitable girl was found, two of the groom's relatives went to her father and arranged terms of dowry. This settled, the groom's relations went to the girl's father's house with a sheep, which they killed and prepared as a feast for the company. After supper, the spokesman of the groom's party would say to the father: "Muḥammad, the relatives of Ḥasan beg of you Fatmah to marry her to him," to which the father would say: "Welcome to you; I will give her without asking her whether she will or not." Then the spokesman would say: "You cover us with favour. The girl is priceless, but we shall give you 20,000 piastres for her." Then the women present would begin to dance, sing, and cry with the peculiar call known as *zaghârit*. Then one of the bystanders would say: "Muḥammad, your relative (*i.e.*, the intended bridegroom) is not shortened in respect of your daughter's dowry; but what is your favour to us?" Whereupon Muḥammad would say: "For the sake of such an one I shall remit 1,000 piastres; for such another 2,000," and so on, till the dowry was reduced to a reasonable figure—that is, to the sum previously agreed upon in private. The money was then paid over by the groom's father to the bride's. Then the groom's father would bring in wood and fire to the village guest room, and while the inhabitants of the surrounding country gathered round and stood—the men on one side, the women on the other,

or else the women behind the men—and the young men, clapping their hands, they would begin to praise the bridegroom with rhymes; similarly the women danced, sang, and called with the *zaghârît*.

This was repeated every evening for a week, after which the bridegroom made ready and rode out on a horse, dressed in his wedding robes, and attended by the young men attired in their best clothes; the women, also in their best, went dancing and singing before the bridegroom's horse. The bridegroom carried a knife mounted in silver under his clothes. At an appointed rendezvous the procession paused, and the young men amused themselves firing at targets, the women as before dancing and singing with the *zaghârît*. In the middle of the ring of dancing women would be one bearing a kind of wooden doll or guy called *ʿarîfah*, dressed in expensive women's dress: afterwards the men carried it before the bridegroom with shouts and cries. Then the bridegroom joined the other youths in galloping up and down, while the elders looked on. After this had gone on for about a couple of hours the party returned home, and the bridegroom's father made a supper for the whole village, if they were agreed together. The whole population collected, and meat with rice was brought out for them in wooden dishes. After supper one of the family stood up, and from every person present received a piece of money, saying as he received each piece, "May God, for the Prophet's sake, restore thee what thou hast lost," adding, "and may love be on the head of such an one"—naming any aged relative of the giver. All having given their gifts, called *nuḳût*, to the bridegroom, the assembly departed, each to his own house, except the young men, who accompanied the groom to one of the houses (in the case of Christians to the church). The bride, with her female attendants, was already in the same house. They were then left alone together. Next morning the bridegroom returned to the village guest chamber, where his father made a morning meal of meat and rice for all the village. With this meal the marriage ceremonies ended.

Birth Customs.—If a boy were born, the father brought fruit (dried raisins or figs if out of the fruit season) or bread steeped in *samn* (melted butter) or oil, and presented it to anyone who happened to be in the guest chamber of the village; or else he killed a goat and made a feast for the sheikhs and his friends.

If a girl were born, there was no special observance; indeed, in some places the family made demonstrations of mourning.

Mourning Customs.—A sick man, supposed to be dying, was visited night and day by his relatives until his death. After his death the relatives collected in the village, the women nearest in relation to the deceased having torn their dress from the breast to the lower hem, and immediately sewn it up again. The women also smeared their faces with soot mixed with oil, and plucked out their hair. The burial was, of course, the same day. It was a greater honour to bury quickly; for the body to commence to decompose before burial was a great indignity to the deceased. After the burial some of the inhabitants, not related to the deceased, made a feast for the relatives, and comforted them with such proverbial philosophy as "All must die, and none can continue in this world"; "Cease to weep for so-and-so, though he be worthy, for all must follow him on this road which all must cross." Then the friends from other villages came to offer consolation, bringing such offerings as a sheep, a robe (*kaftan*), a basket of rice (three roṭls), a sum of money, &c. When they arrived at the village of the deceased, the relatives met them and proffered coffee, tobacco, food, meat, and rice, and thus they continued several days. In some parts it was part of the funeral ceremony that the nearest female relative should stand in the centre with her hair loose, while the relatives danced round her, waving their long sleeves. This occurred either in the cemetery or in an open place near the deceased's house. This was never done for women or children. The women of the neighbouring villages also came to join with those of the deceased's village in noisy lamentations, with beating of their breasts and in a eulogy of the deceased, in traditional form and tunes. This coming and going might last a month, during which the treating of all the arrivals was a considerable strain on the finances of the deceased's family.

The torn dress of the women was worn, to the exclusion of all others, till it became useless. The surviving relatives, as a mark of mourning, abstained from washing their faces or their persons or clothes for a considerable period—perhaps two years; in some extreme cases ten years; indeed, it has been known that women, after a bereavement, have ever after abstained from washing. Sometimes the wives cut off their hair and put it above the grave. If the deceased were one of the village notables, a coffee grinder, coffee

pot, and cups were deposited with him, as well as his nargileh, if he were in the habit of using one. The corpse was dressed in the best clothes of the deceased, and bedding, with a prayer carpet, was put on the grave.

The Laws of Hospitality.—In nearly every village there was one or more guest chambers, *Mudâfah*, also *Manzal* or *Sûfah*, where strangers were received. There was a watchman, or servant, attached to the guest chamber to bring food to the guest from each family in rotation. If, however, the guest were known, or a person of distinction, there would be a competition among the villagers, decided by one of themselves, each offering reasons why himself should be privileged to entertain the guest; and the claim being decided by the adjudicator, who, after hearing what each competitor could offer, selected one and specified what he must supply. The person nominated produced a sheep or two, according to the number of the company, and made a great feast for the guest and those villagers who assembled to help entertain him. The best pieces of meat, called *el-shathâyah*, were placed before the guests, and the rice was cooked with great quantities of butter (*samn*). Sometimes when a specially-honoured guest comes, one of the villagers would begin killing his sheep, and if not stopped by the guest would kill them all.[1] Those who refused or were unwilling to offer food to guests were accounted miserly, and no one would give them brides for their sons, nor take their daughters for wives.

The Laws of Revenge.—When a person was killed his whole family sought an opportunity of revenge. If the revenge were delayed it was accounted a disgrace upon the family, and the women stirred up their male relations to consummate the revenge. When the family saw the murderer they rushed at him excitedly; if they could not find him another of the family would be killed instead. Then the second family claimed revenge; and the process continued, either indefinitely or else till peace was made, one death being reckoned against the other.

Preservation of Domestic Purity.—If a woman were found in an act of adultery she was either killed at once, or the sheikhs were informed, who, after hearing evidence, gave sentence, if she were found guilty, that she should be put to death by being made a mark

[1] An acquaintance of ours once saw seven sheep killed in this way among the Bedawin before the guest could stop his hospitable host.—[R. A. S. M. and E. W. G. M.]

for bullets, all the men taking a share in her execution. The male transgressor was put to death in like manner, and if he escaped his family was made answerable—their possessions being confiscated if they did not produce him. The body after execution was not buried in the cemetery, but cast into a cave. If the proof was clear the punishment was, without doubt, death. In the case of a man making evil suggestions to a woman to which she would not consent, she was known as *sayyâḥat eẓ-ẓuhr*, "the crier of midday"; in this case the man was accounted guilty, the woman innocent. The punishment of the man was a heavy fine or death, according to the circumstances. The husband was not allowed to carry out sentence of death on the insulter; the duty devolved on the woman's brother. No village or sheikh dared protect such a man, as the demand for his being delivered up would be enforced by warfare, leading even at best to the exile, if not the death, of the guilty man.

Pilgrimage. (i) Christians.—On feast days the young people of the villages, dressed in their best, visited those places counted holy. On the arrival of a party of young persons at the door of the Holy Sepulchre Church, the girls began to sing and dance as though for a wedding, while the men entered the church running, crying with a loud voice the well-known rhyme—

> Christ has visited us to-day,
> And ransomed us with His blood;
> We to-day are happy
> And the Jews are sad;
> There is no religion
> But that of the Messiah.

So singing, they would clap their hands and run round the chapel of the Sepulchre, sometimes one mounting on the shoulders of another. This specially occurred at the celebrated "Holy Fire," which they called "the Fire of Jesus Christ." Singing and dancing was also practised at the church of the Tomb of the Virgin in the Kedron valley.

(ii) Muslims.—The feasts of Nabi Mûsa and Nabi Rubîn, and at various holy tombs, used to go on much as they do now. The people would go in their best clothes, preceded by darwishes with drums and tambourines, and lutes and banners mounted on long poles. The darwishes would chant, waving spears and swords, while the women sing. When they arrived at the place of procession —Nabi Mûsa, Nabi Rubîn, &c.—the darwish began to tear his dress

and strike himself with spears, and allow himself to be so smitten that the onlookers might see that the men of God are invulnerable. Others carried snakes, which they twisted round their necks. If by an accident a darwish were killed or wounded he was supposed to be ceremonially unclean. All the days of the feast were spent in eating, dancing, singing, and shows of this kind.

Part II.

Former Divisions and Local Government of the Fellahîn of Judæa and the District of Nâblus.

Before entering upon an account of the doings of the fellahîn at the time of the great sheikhs, it is necessary to enumerate the districts into which the land was at that time divided. The names of these districts survive to the present day, and some of them will be found marked on the P. E. F. maps, and it is probable that many of these divisions are of considerable antiquity. Each district was domineered over by certain chieftains, or sheikhs, belonging to great families who by their skill in war, their wealth, or their traditional position, were able to keep themselves at the top. They were the aristocracy of Palestine, and to-day, though their ancient power is practically gone, the heads of these families are recognised as leaders. In the greater number of cases the same families are to the fore to-day as were so then, but now they are obliged to be more or less orderly and law-abiding. Some of the individuals mentioned here are real national heroes, and around them have already gathered many mythical stories.[1]

In Finn's *Stirring Times* many references to these sheikhs will be found, supplementing in some cases the facts given below.

Down to the middle of the nineteenth century the country was divided into 18 districts, the names of which, with their ruling families, being as follows:—

1. *Jabal el-Khalîl: Kaisiyah el-Fokah.*—This was the district round the town of Hebron. Ruling family, 'Omar; chief sheikh at the second quarter of the nineteenth century, 'Abd er-Rahmân.[2] Chief town, Dûra; other villages, Yatta, Samû'a, edh Dhahariyah, &c.

[1] See *Quarterly Statement*, 1905, p. 122.

[2] For account of the rise of this man to power, and of his doings, see *Stirring Times*, p. 236*f*.

2. *Ḳaisiyah et-Taḥtah* (north and north-west of No. 1).—Ruling family, el-'Azzah and el-'Aml. Chief sheikhs, Muṣlaḥ el-'Azzah and Muḥammad 'Abd en-Nabi el-'Amlah. Chief town, Beit Jibrîn; other villages, Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi, Dhikrîn el-Buradân, Idhna, Kudna, Kûfîn, Sûrîf, Nôba, Kharâs, and others.

The two sheikhs named were of gigantic stature, as was also 'Abd el-'Azîz, the brother of Muṣlaḥ. Of 'Abd en-Nabi it was said that he could lift up and carry off a horseman from the back of his horse; indeed once, in a battle, he thus unhorsed 13 men, one after the other. It is also related that a famous Egyptian giant came to the country, hearing of the strength of the sheikh, and desirous of matching himself against him. He met the sheikh, without knowing him, in the guest-house of the village Beit Ûla. When he stated his business, the sheikh bade him join his hands, then, seizing them with one of his own, he said "Pull your two hands from my one and then you will be a match for 'Abd en-Nabi." The Egyptian, blazing with anger, endeavoured to free himself, with the result that he broke both his arms! On account of his skill as a marksman this sheikh was surnamed 'Azra'îl (the angel of death); he was also distinguished for his hospitality.

3. *El-'Arkûb* (east of No. 2).—Ruling family, el-Laḥḥam. Chief sheikh, 'Othmân. Chief town, Beit 'Atâb; other villages, Deir Abân, Eshû'a, &c.

4. *Bâni Ḥasan* (east of No. 3).—Chief sheikhs, 'Ali Muḥammad and Muḥammad Darwîsh. Chief town, Walajah; other villages, about 10 in number, Mâlḥah, 'Ain Kârim, Beit Jâla, el-Khudr, Sôba, &c. In the last-named place was an old castle, pulled down with great labour by Ibrahîm Pasha.

5. *Beni Mâlik* (north-west of No. 4).—Ruling family, Abû Ghosh. Chief sheikh, Haj Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh. Chief town, Kuriet el-'Anab; other villages, about 20 in number, Beit 'Anân, Lifta, Yâlo, Beit Leḳieh, Khurbatah, Beit 'Ur el-Foḳah, Beit 'Ur et-Taḥtah, &c.

6. *Wâdiyah*[1] (east of Jerusalem).—Ruling family, 'Araykat. Chief sheikh, Muḥammad 'Araykat. Chief town, Abû Dis; other villages, eight in all, et-Tûr, Silwân, Beit Sahûr, a Bedawîn encampment called Sawaḥrat el-Wad, &c.

7. *Jabal el-Ḳuds* (the district containing Jerusalem).—This was sub-divided into four parts, whose chief sheikhs and towns were as follows:—'Abd el-Latîf Simhân el-Kaswâni; town, Beit Iksa.

[1] In the P. E. F. Memoirs this district is called *El Kerâdiyeh*.

Aḥmad 'Ali; town, Deir Diwân. Ḥasan 'Abd Allah; town, Beit Ûnia. 'Amr esh-Shama'; town, Bîreh. Among the other villages of this district are Ram Allah, Kefr 'Akûb, Jeba', er-Râm, Sha'fât, Mukhmas, &c.

8. *'Bani Ḥârith* (north of the preceding).—This was divided into two, the "northern" and "southern" Bani Ḥârith.[1] Of the northern division the ruling family was Simḥân. Chief sheikh, Isma'il (killed by Ibrahim Pasha in 1834), and after him Ḥasan es-Sa'id and Muḥammad ibn Isma'il. Chief towns, el-Jâniyah and er-Ras;[2] other villages, Beit Illu, Jemâla, Abu Kash, Surdah, Jifna, Bir ez-Zeit, Deir 'Ammar, Mezra'a, Dura, Karâwa. Of the southern Bani Ḥarith, the ruling family was Ka'râja. Chief sheikhs, 'Abd Allah and his son Muṣṭafa. Chief town, Beit Ibziâ; other villages, Saffa, 'Ain 'Arîk, Ain Kâniah, and others.

On account of the favouritism of sheikh Isma'il for the sheikh Nasr of Bir ez-Zeit, no taxes were collected from that town during the former's lifetime. When he was succeeded by Ḥasan Simḥân and Muḥammad Simhân an attempt was made to levy a toll of 150 jars of oil. This was resisted by Mûsa ibn Nasr, sheikh of Bir ez-Zeit, and a conflict took place, in which 120 men of Bir ez-Zeit engaged 3,000 of the sheikhs' followers. After five days' fighting the matter was referred to the arbitration of the governor of Jerusalem, who decided that the people of Bir ez-Zeit were autonomous, and that the house of Simhân were not to enter the village.

9. *Bani Murrah* (beside the northern Bani Ḥarith).—Till the Egyptian domination the sheikh was Aḥmad abû 'Abd Allah of Mazra'a esh-Sharḳiyah; after his death, in the time of the Egyptian domination, the district was divided into two, which, with their towns and sheikhs, were: 'Abd el-'Azîz el-Ansawiyah; town, Mazra'a esh-Sharḳîyah. Muḥammad abû Mubârak; town, Silwâd; the other villages are 'Ain Sinia, Jiljiliah, Sinjil, Turmus 'Aya, &c. The sheikhs named were appointed by Ibrahim Pasha.

10. *Bani Salim* (east of No. 9).—Chief sheikhs ed-Daykah of Kefr Mâlik, and 'Abd el-Hamîd abû Ibrahîm of Deir Jarîr. Other villages, Tayibah and Rummân.

11. *Bani Zaid* (north of the Bani Ḥârith esh-Shamaliyah).—The sheikhs of this district originally belonged to the family

[1] *Bani Ḥârith esh-Shamaliyah* and *el-Ḳibliyah*.

[2] Also called *Ras Kerker*.

el-Baraghît ("fleas"), and their chief town was Deir Ghassânah. The representatives of this family before the Egyptian domination were Mârîf and 'Asi Rabbâḥ; during the early days of the Egyptian rule they were 'Ali Rabbâḥ, son of 'Asi and 'Abd el-Jabâr abû Ṣâliḥ, nephew of Mârif. These were both put to death by Ibrahîm Pasha. Their successors were Mûsa Aḥmad of Abwain and Sa'id ibn 'Ali er-Rabbaḥ of Kabar. In the latter days of Mûsa, Ṣalâḥ ibn 'Abd el-Ḳadar of Deir Ghassânah became sheikh, and great enmity arose between these two. The villages of Bani Zaid were 'Attara, 'Ajul, 'Arâra, Mazra'a, Kefr 'Ain, Beit Rîma, 'Abûd, &c.

The family of el-Baraghit was one of great wealth and pride. The members boasted of noble origin. They had a remarkable gift of eloquence. It was a custom of this family absolutely to seclude their wives from the view of any but their husbands. Deir Ghassânah was, as stated, the headquarters of the family, and even till recent times many of them, including the most influential members, are to be found in that village; but owing to a dispute they divided, part settling in Kâbar, part at Beit Rîma, and others at Deir edh-Dham and elsewhere.

The following divisions are in the district of Nâblus:—

12. *Jama'în* (south of Nâblus).—Divided into two: the first under the family of Ḳâsim el-Aḥmad, named from the famous sheikh Ḳâsim el-Aḥmad of Deir Isṭia, and including the villages of 'Azzûn Silfît, Rantis, Skâka, Ḥableh, and others. The second was under the family of Rayan, a collateral branch of the family of Ḳâsim el-Aḥmad. Their city was Mejdel,[1] their chief sheikh Ṣâdiḳ, who, in 1851, was exiled to Trezibond, and was succeeded by his brother Mûsa Abu Bakr. The other villages included Kefr Burin, Zawiah, Murdah, Ḥawârah, and others. In all, there were 58 villages in the Jama'în district. It derived its name from the village of Jama'în, the original home of the chief family.

13. *Bani Sa'ab* (north of No. 12).—Ruling family, el-Jayusah; chief sheikh Yusif Wakid of Kefr Sur. Other villages, Kalkîliah, eṭ-Ṭayibah (Nâblus), Jayûs (from which the family name of the sheikhs is derived), Jinsâfût, Kefr Zebad, Kefr Jemmâl, and others.

Like the Baraghît, the Jama'în and the Jayûsah strictly secluded their wives. Indeed, no family in the country was so jealous in this

[1] This is apparently the Medjel of the Memoirs (iii, p. 286); the ruling family of this village is there said to be Beit el-Jem'aîny.

respect as the Jayûsah, for by them no woman was permitted even to see her brother after marriage. Occasionally she was allowed to see her father, but this was the sole exception to absolute exclusion.

14. *Wâdi Sha'ir* (north of Nâblus).—Two ruling families, Ḥaffah and Saif. The chief sheikhs of the first, Isma'il Yusif, Mus'ûd Ḥamdân, and Maḥmûd el-Ḥaj Isma'il; of the second, Muṣṭafa Burḳayah. Chief villages, Sebustah, Zawâta, en Nâkûra, Jennesinia, Beit Imrîn, Nusf Jebîl, &c.

15. *Sharawiyah el-Gharbîyah* (north of the preceding).—Ruling families, Jarrâr, and 'Abd el-Ḥâdi. Chief sheikhs of the former, Muḥammad el-Ḥaj, Aḥmad Yusif, Abû Khalîl, and Dadiwah el-Muflaḥ; of the latter, Ḥusain Bek 'Abd el-Ḥâdi, his brother, Maḥmûd Bek, and the latter's son Sulaiman Bek. Chief town, 'Arrâbah. The Dar Jerrâr originally lived at Jeb'a, but a branch of the family built Sanûr and lived there. Other villages, Shweikah, Kâkûn, Bâ'ḳa, 'Attîl, Silet edh-Dhahr, 'Ajjah, Kefr Lebâd, &c.

The original rulers were the Jerrâr. Husain Bek 'Abd el-Ḥâdi had two other brothers, 'Abd el-Ḥâdi, governor of Jenîn in 1851, and Abd el-Kadar Husain, who was poisoned in the Bakhyah gardens, near 'Akka, by the sister of Ibrahîm Pasha. He had four sons, Maḥmûd (governor of Gaza in 1849, afterwards exiled), 'Abd 'er-Raḥmân, Ṣâleḥ, and Ṣ'aîd.

16. *Sharawiyah el-Sharḳiyah* (under the same sheikhs).—Their villages were 58 in all, including Tûbâs, Ta'mûn, Zebâbdah, Sîr, Sîrîs, Jeba, Kabâtiyah, Fendukûmîyah,[1] and others.

17. *Masharîyah Nâblus.*—Ruling family, Dawahat; chief town, Baita; other villages 'Awurtah, Beit Furîḳ, Beit Dejan, Belat, 'Askar, and others.

18. *Mashiyah Dar el-Haj Mahmud.*—Ruling family, Naṣr Manṣûr; chief village, Jalûd; other villages, Kuriût, Kusrah, 'Aḳrabah, Dûmah, Kubelân, &c.

19. *Nâblus City.*—Chief family, Tuḳân, of whom the most famous was Mûsa Bek Tuḳân. In 1854, 'Ali Bek Tuḳân was governor of Nâblus.

All the above-mentioned districts were similar in customs and in condition, except for a few small differences in detail.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] All these villages are in the P.E.F. Memoirs included in the district *Masharik el-Jerrâr.*

FROM MACHAERUS TO ʿATĀRÔTH.

By Professor George Adam Smith, D.D., LL.D.

On April 20th, 1904, after examining anew the ruins of Mkawr or Machaerus, as recorded in a previous paper,[1] we took bearings from our camp at the south end of the ruins upon the Kuṣr el-Meshneḳeh, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Jebel es-Ṣalt, and Khurbet ʿAṭṭārūs, which agree very well with the position of ruins marked on the Palestine Exploration Fund map.

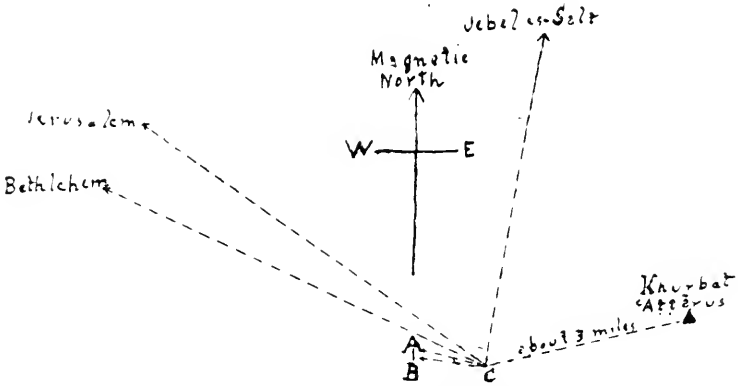


Fig. 1.—From our Camp at Mkawr, on south end of ridge on which the ruined city lies. A–B, Kuṣr el-Meshneḳeh (fortress of Machaerus); C. Camp at Mkawr.

Khurbet ʿAṭṭārūs, our first goal for the day, lay thus, as the crow flies, some three miles E.N.E. across the Moabite plateau, but to reach it we had, in consequence of the broken nature of the country, to strike in almost the opposite direction S.S.W., and to follow one of the most winding roads I have traversed, even among the wadies of Palestine. We took in succession the direction of nearly every point of the compass, and all the morning seemed to be circling round the south, south-east, and east of Mkawr, without being able to get more than 2 to 3 miles away from it.

We started at 9.20, and held S.S.W. for about 20 minutes, then due east along the back of a ridge. From this Maʿîn was very

[1] *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1905.

conspicuous across the plateau and over the Wady Zerḳa Ma'in. To the range on the north of the Wady, Khalil, our guide, gave the name of Umm el-Murêjîb, أم المريجب. On this same ridge we came for the first time on a well-marked road, about 12 feet broad, between lines of upright stones. By the right of the road stood the first of a long series of squares of masonry, which, as well as the road, we were to trace all the way to 'Aṭṭārūs. Each

Fig. 2.—Hamideh Bedawin at Mkawr (Machaerus).

consists of about 10 feet square of stones, apparently originally dressed on the outside, but now very much weathered. They rise 3 or 4 feet from the ground. The interior is filled with rubble (? or rubbish). For a photograph of one of these towers or platforms, *see* Fig. 3. On the highest part of the ridge is a stone circle, and within it a fallen menhir, about 7 feet long: its greatest breadth about 1 inch over 3 hands length. It is hewn conical from

the centre to one end. There is also a circular trough with a channel leading to it on the south side.

Upon this ridge, which bears many standing stones, we passed also seven or eight of the masonry blocks just described, at unequal intervals on both sides of the road. Khalil gave the ridge the name of Et Ṭeyr, الطير. It lies south-east of Mkawr. We reached the eastern end of it at 10.4 A.M., and still following the ancient road N.N.E. 10.10 A.M., more masonry blocks; soon after three more with standing stones about them. The road then

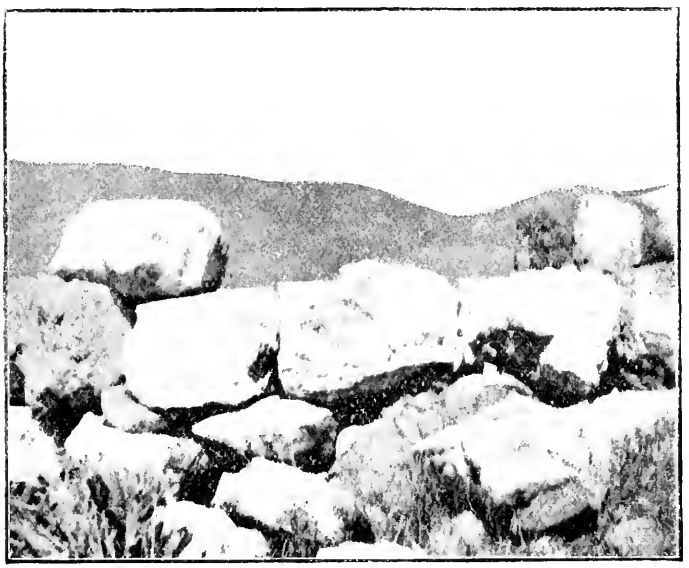


FIG. 3.—One side of one of the square Masonry Blocks on the road between Mkawr and Khurbet 'Aṭṭārūs.

turned due north; three more masonry blocks and a few large circles of standing stones. We held north till 10.30, passing similar blocks of masonry at intervals, the road still clearly marked by upright stones along both sides. At 10.50 we came on an elevation upon the ridge which Khalil called "Ḳuryāt 'Aṭṭārūs," covered with ruins. I verified the name by asking two Bedawee ploughmen, passing with a plough on an ass; they answered "Khurbet 'Aṭṭārūs.' The road passes to the west of this elevation with two more masonry blocks on its west side.

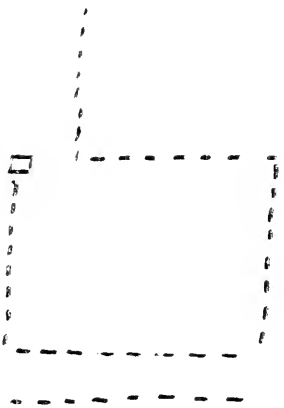
The ridge of Eṭ-Ṭeyr and the other running north from it to Kh. ʻAṭṭārūs are thus very thickly covered with ancient monuments —more so than almost any other ridge I have examined in Moab. They must have formed an important religious centre, which (as we shall see) extended also to the north of Khurbet ʻAṭṭārūs. The masonry blocks seem too numerous to have been the bases of towers for the defence of the road; more probably they were platforms for some religious purpose. The remains imply a large population, but there appeared to be no traces of domestic buildings except at Mkawr and ʻAṭṭārūs. The whole district deserves a thorough examination, including the excavation of the masonry blocks.

We stayed an hour at Khurbet ʻAṭṭārūs examining its position and the ruins upon it. The latter are scattered down both sides of the elevation, which falls on the west into the Wady Hajr Manîf (that appears to issue upon the shelves of the Wady Zerḳa Maʻin above the Hot Springs), and on the east into the fertile Wady Talaʻat el-ʻAraʼis, تلعة العرايس.[1] On the summit of the elevation stands a terebinth tree, to which my companion, Dr. G. S. Buchanan, had taken the bearings from Mkawr, that he now verified. He also took a bearing from this terebinth on a tree prominent to the S.S.E. on another ridge, above the same Wady Talaʻat el-ʻAraʼis, say, a little over two miles distant. To the pile of stones about this tree Khalil and the aforesaid Bedawee ploughmen independently gave the name Ḳuriyāt. The ruins of Khurbet ʻAṭṭārūs are more rude and confused than the Byzantine remains at Mkawr; but many of the stones are built on the same plan; the outside stones dressed only on their outside face with rubble between them. We did not notice any mortar. There are many caves and cisterns. On the south-west end of the Tell a deep cleft has been cut in the rock half-way across the ridge, from 12 to 14 feet wide, and 8 to 9 feet deep, with traces of a strong stone wall above it. On the north-east end of the Tell there is a corresponding cutting across the ridge. Among the ruins no pillars or other evidences of a public architecture are visible; but on the north-east slope lies a roofless stone building with a ruined arch across the centre. Temperature under the terebinth at 11.30, 82°.

We left Khurbet ʻAṭṭārūs at 11.50, and, descending the north-east slope of the Tell, followed the same direction towards a con-

[1] See *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1905.

spicuous pile of stones called the Rujm 'Aṭṭārūs. Almost immediately after leaving the Khurbet we digressed from the road to visit a level ridge to the east, on which lies a square enclosed by standing stones, and to the south of it and parallel with its southern side another line of standing stones, as thus :—



This is a section of one of the latter stones. The top bears signs of having been broken off, so that what is now a groove may originally have been a hole. One fallen dolmen, and perhaps more.

From this we held north for a little, and then turning north-east, came at 12.30 to Rujm 'Aṭṭārūs, a great mound of ruined stones, which from the west appears only a huge cairn, but on the north side bears evidence of having been enclosed by a wall, laid on an incline like some of the old Amorite walls I have seen at Tell 'Ashary in Hauran and elsewhere. Some of the stones have cup-markings. There are a few terebinth trees on the west foot of the ruins, and at least two cisterns, at one of which shepherds were watering goats (Fig. 4). Some of the stones bear cup-markings. Temperature at 2.30, 84°. Khurbet 'Aṭṭārūs lies due south-west from the Rujm, which lies on the brink of the W. Zerḳa Ma'in at the south end of its great stretch north and south. The Rujm thus forms the summit of what is called, as you look up to it from the bed of the great Wady, the Jebel 'Aṭṭārūs.

Two sites within 2 miles of each other thus bore the name 'Aṭṭārūs, the 'Aṭāroth of the O. T. and the Moabite stone (l. 11) —one of them distinguished as the Rujm, the other as the Khurbet

'Aṭṭārūs. Both appear to have been fortified in ancient times. May we suppose that one represents the 'Atārôth of Numbers xxxii, 3 and 34, a city of Gad, and the other, 'Atroth Shophan, of verse 35, also a city fortified by Gad? Both are called *fenced cities*.

We left Rujm 'Aṭṭārūs at 2.46, and followed an old road on the brink of the deep Wady Zerḳa Ma'in north-east, then east, and always bearing slightly south, mostly on the same contour of

FIG. 4.—Shepherds watering sheep and goats at cisterns beside the Rujm 'Aṭṭarūs, looking S.W.

round limestone ridges, till at last we struck (a welcome change!) up the bed of a shallow Wady through wheat, and so out eastward on a more flat and fertile country, across which we rode south-east to Libb. Leaving this to the left, we turned south on to the Roman road about 4 o'clock.

The winding road we had traversed all day from Mkawr had always been perfectly distinct, and was nearly always edged by

upright stones, but, unlike the main Roman road which we struck near Libb, was seldom paved. So far as we could see, it was the only road across the district, till in the afternoon we crossed a tiny footpath or two.

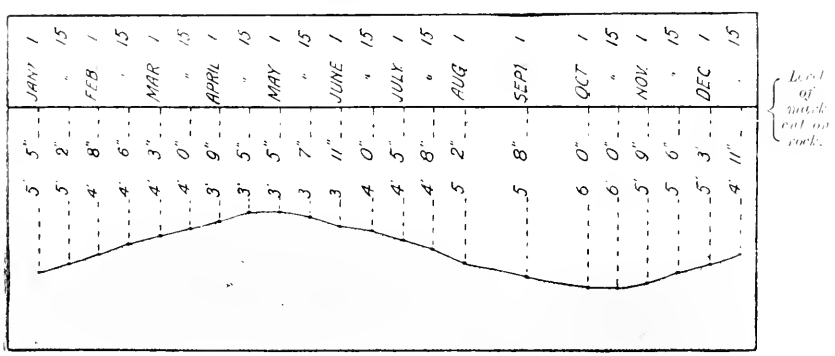
From Libb we followed the Roman road southwards[1] to our camp for the night on the Wady el-Waleh, reaching it at 5.25 P.M. Temperature at 9.30, 68°.

RISE AND FALL OF THE SEA OF GALILEE, 1904.

THE accompanying diagram shows the Rise and Fall of the Sea of Galilee during the year 1904. The measurements were taken, under the supervision of Dr. Torrance, regularly on the 1st and 15th of the month, between the mark cut on the rock and the surface of the water. It will be observed that the water was highest in May and lowest in October, being a rise and fall of 2 feet 7 inches.

RISE AND FALL OF THE SEA OF GALILEE IN 1904.

The measurements are to the surface of the water below the mark cut on the rock.



[1] As described in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1905.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

1. *The Neolithic Altar.*—The analogy pointed out by Mr. Clarkson Wallis (*ante*, p. 164) between the Troglodyte place of sacrifice at Gezer and the Sakhrah in Jerusalem is complete, and it has struck more than one visitor who has come to Gezer fresh from Jerusalem—though Mr. Wallis is the first to notice it in print. The only points of difference are: (1) The extension of the Jerusalem drain *through* the cave, by means of the passage now known as *Bîr el-arwah*, which has no parallel at Gezer; and (2) the absence at Jerusalem (so far as the restrictions on an examination of the rock permit me to judge) of the associated cup-marks.

I do not, however, agree that to such an altar Abraham would have brought Isaac. According to any feasible scheme of chronology, the religion that centred round *standing stones* (which, as the Gezer excavations indicate, are a later development than that of the perforated rock) had come into being in Abraham's time, and if the "Moriah" of the story of Isaac could be identified with the Temple "Moriah," I should prefer to associate with Isaac's sacrifice the seventh stone in the Gezer alignment (which a geological expert has declared to be probably of Jerusalem provenance, and which there are several reasons for supposing to have been originally a *Maṣṣêbah* of the Jebusite High Place captured by the Gezerites as a war-trophy). But the identification is for several reasons improbable. Professor Paton draws a parallel between *Martu*, the Babylonian name for Syria, and the Moriah of the story (*Syria and Palestine*, p. 16). Another suggestion is one which I ventured upon myself in the *Expository Times* of last year, namely, that for the ארץ המריה, literally, "Land of the Moriah" of the text, we were to read ארץ המדונים, "Land of the Midianites," which would locate the sacrifice as an act of Yahweh-worship in the most likely place for such a sacrifice in Abraham's time, and in the place which down almost to the latest days of the monarchy the Hebrews regarded as the original and normal habitation of their god.

R. A. S. Macalister.

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2. *Jews in Ramleh in* 1015 A.D.—So little is known of the mediæval history of the Jews in Palestine before the time of

Saladin, that the following notice is worth recording. In a document brought from Egypt and now in Cambridge (T.S. 13, J. 1[2]) we have positive evidence of the existence of a fully organised Jewish community (with a *Beth Din*) in Ramleh in 1015. In another document (T.S. 13, J. 1[6]), dated 1023, we are told of a Fostat Jew who settled in Ramleh in the year last named. The documents will be published by Dr. S. Poznanski later on in a Hebrew periodical, but the fact which they present is new, and ought, perhaps, to be put on record without delay. For other references to the close connection between the Jews of Egypt and Ramleh (at a slightly later date in the eleventh century), see Dr. Poznanski's article in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. xlviii (particularly p. 156, note 2). It is clear that Ramleh occupied a military position superior to that of Jerusalem at the period in question. The officials at Jerusalem are found taking their orders from the Governor of Ramleh.

I. Abrahams, M.A.

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